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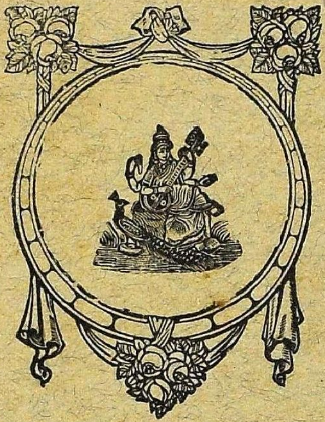

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AKHAṆḌĀRTHA.[1]

BY

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How can śabda ever approximate to Brahman? The latter is supra-relational, while the former is essentially relational. A verbal assertion may lead us to the knowledge of a subject as characterised in one way or another, but not to the knowledge of the character-less; its content is relational cognition (saṁsarga-jñāna), not the non-relational or the impartite (akhaṇḍa). The exhibition of the impartite sense (akhaṇḍārtha) of statements is a prominent pre-occupation of Advaitins. They appeal with success to the psychology of assertions, of which they recognise two kinds. One is the descriptive, where a predication is made of a subject and the knowledge conveyed is relational; 'Devadatta wears a crown' predicates the attribute of being crowned in relation to Devadatta. The other type of assertion is demonstrative; the above statement about Devadatta may in some circumstances have only a demonstrative import; for instance, a stranger to the city knows that Devadatta is king, knows also that Devadatta may be seen in the audience-hall of the palace; having gone there, he sees a host of nobles splendidly robed, among whom he finds it difficult to identify the king; on asking a neighbour he is told that the king (Devadatta) is he who wears the crown. The questioner's interest is in the identity of the individual, not in his characteristics; a relational statement in those conditions would be irrelevant, if not superfluous, as in a general way the questioner may know even that kings wear crowns. To a question about identity, the answer too should properly be a demonstrative assertion of identity. The answer given is, therefore, in spite of its relational form, intended to lead to knowledge of the non-relational, the identity of Devadatta.

The import of non-dualist texts too may similarly be the impartite. The possibility is made clearer in recognitive judg-

1. A paper contributed to the Indian Philosophical Congress, XIVth Session, 1938.

ments like 'This is that Devadatta'. We do not in such a case intend to predicate presence here and now in the case of a subject characterised as seen at a different time and place; nor do we predicate of him both sets of attributes; for either assertion would involve a contradiction. What we do assert is the substantive identity of Devadatta despite the apparently conflicting attributes. So too in the Vedānta text "That thou art"[1] there is stated the substantive identity of consciousness despite the conflicting attributions of finitude and omnipotence, parviscience and omniscience. And, on the analogy of the recognitive assertion noticed above, texts like "Reality, consciousness, infinitude is Brahman"[2] are to be understood as indicating Brahman through the exclusion of the unreal, the inert and the finite. The sentence is no doubt made up of words in relation; but its import need not be and is not in all cases relational. The judging activity being purposive, we should, in determining its purport, look to its end rather than its form; and the cognition of identity rather than characteristics is both an actual and intelligible end.

This division of judgments into two classes, those with a relational import and those signifying non-relational identity, would appear to be *prima facie* sound.[3] The position, however, is not free from difficulties. The demonstrative judgments too can be interpreted as descriptive without doing too much violence to them. 'This is that Devadatta' can mean that 'Devadatta is the individual who despite having been seen at another time and place is also seen here and now'; the capacity to be the substrate of apparently conflicting characteristics, this itself may be understood as a characteristic. Similarly, 'Devadatta is fair', though a descriptive judgment, may serve as a demonstrative judgment when used for identifying Devadatta in a company the other members of which are dark. The difference, then, is not in the form of the judgment, but in the purpose subserved. It now remains to ask whether in knowing we really have different purposes served by different judgments or rather different levels of the same purpose.

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1. tat tvam asi; *Chānd.*, VI, viii, 7.

2. satyam jñānam anantam brahma; *Taitt.*, II, 1.

3. For a spirited defence of the position, *see* Datta, *Six Ways of Knowing*, pp. 311 ff.

When we say 'leaves are green' or 'roses are red' or 'man is mortal' we seem to be interested in knowing certain attributes possessed by a substance or class of substances. Without entering on a discussion of substance and attribute, let us examine a little more closely the significance of this predication. The predicate is not something external to the subject, added on to it, in spite of appearances to the contrary. To take the judgment about leaves, it is not as though we have leaves given to us as the subject to which green-ness is added by the predicate; if our judgment is valid, what is not green is not a leaf, so that in starting with the subject we have green-ness also given. What happens is that in a whole called 'leaf' we isolate 'green-ness' and predicate it of that wherein the colour was not explicitly cognised. The relation of predication takes place within a whole of which subject and predicate are components; the whole is above *this* relation, and to that extent is supra-relational. And the object of the judgment for all its predicative character is to restore that which was isolated (by our interest in colour-cognition) to that wherefrom it was isolated, to restore the whole to its integrity. This cannot be gainsaid by any logician who admits all judgments to be analytic as well as synthetic. The analysis is of a whole; the synthesis restores the whole. It is the whole that guides and directs the two-fold functioning of the judgment.

Why then do we stop short with a characterisation in the judgments mentioned? Because we are not fully alive to the identity that controls the judging process. The moment some quality, say, colour, or relation, say, equality, has been analysed and predicated, we feel satisfied with the achievement of our thought. It requires greater knowledge and reflection to realise that the substance is more than any or all of those characteristics together, that the identity dimly striven for in the earlier levels of judgment can be achieved only by the identity-type, where characteristics find mention only to be transcended. The realisation of identity is the one purpose that runs through all these judgments: 'I am a man', 'I am the same man that I was yesterday', 'I am Brahman'. In the earlier levels the predicative character is more prominent; that, however, is no ground for postulating radically different purposes. The task of judgment is ever to unify; but the unity is realised in different grades at different levels.

It may be urged that the identity sought must be an identity-in-difference, since a judgment of bare identity is bare tautology and unintelligible. This much may be admitted, that in the absence of all difference, an assertion of identity would be pointless. The co-eval reality of difference cannot, however, be granted. Identity may not be intelligible apart from difference; but it is no more intelligible if the two are juxtaposed. One or other must be admitted to be phenomenal; and since admittedly we seek unity through the judgment, the difference must be phenomenal. That is to say, the purport of the judgment is the supra-relational, though its form is relational. Subject and predicate are the termini or limbs of the judgment, but its constitution, its body, as it were, is the whole that is neither subject nor predicate, being the substrate of both.

Critical idealists who distinguish the logical from the grammatical subject should be disposed to grant the position indicated above. They take up the opposite position instead and seek to make all judgments predicative. They have the merit of envisaging a single purpose in all judgments; but it is questionable if that purpose has been conceived correctly. Reality, according to these thinkers, is the logical subject in every judgment. The assertion 'S is P' or 'S is not P' means 'Reality is such that it is characterised by S-P or S-not-P'. The words 'such that' etc. constitute the predicate. Now since reality is the subject, what is the nature of the predicate? If it is different from the subject, it must be other than real and every judgment should *eo ipso* be false. If it is not different from reality, it cannot be different from the subject; every judgment, logically and not grammatically considered, should be an identity-judgment. In Bradleian language, the logical subject is that wherein existence and content, the *that* and the *what* are in full harmony; in the predicate such harmony is lacking; each aspect tends to exceed the other; the task of judgment is suitably to harmonise the predicate by remedying the excesses; the result (as well as the presupposition) of such harmonisation is reality. The identity of subject and predicate, then, is the object of *all* judgments, not merely of a few. It is an identity-in-difference; the difference is presented; because of this presentation the identity is aimed at; it is achieved, however, not because of, but in spite of, the difference.[1]

1. Dr. Datta (*loc. cit.*) makes special reference to Bradley's

The above considerations apply with equal, if not greater, force to the Advaitin. For him, Consciousness (caitanya) is the sole reality. It is itself reality and knowledge. All finite relational knowing attains validity or fruitfulness only by approximating to that svarūpa-jñāna. Since what approximates and the process of approximation are both relational, the empirically valid is bound to be predicative in form; the farther away we are from the ideal, the larger will bulk the predicative import. But since subject and predicate alike have reality for the Advaitin only as superimpositions on the one Consciousness, even the predicative

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view that "judgment is not the assertion that subject and predicate are identical or equal". Bradley seems to be primarily concerned here with equational logic; and it is difficult not to agree with him when he shows that "The qualification of the predicate is a half-hearted doctrine, which runs against facts if '=' does mean *equal*, is ridiculous if '=' comes to no more than plain '*is*', and is downright false if '=' stands for '*is the same as*' " (*Logic*, I, 24). The Advaitin's purpose, however, will be better served by a consideration of Bradley's view of the *logical* subject; Bradley's concern in the passages cited by Dr. Datta, is with the *grammatical* subject. Further, the identity asserted as the purport of the judgment (by the Advaitin) is not bare identity, nor is it *between* the grammatical subject and the predicate. 'This is that Devadatta' is an assertion of identity-in-difference; and it is not an equation of 'this (Devadatta)' with 'that Devadatta'; it is rather an assertion of the identical Devadatta that underlies the difference signified by 'this' and 'that'. This is not what Bradley understands by *identity* in his view that that is not the import of the judgment. And identity-in-difference, even as between grammatical subject and predicate, may be shown to be the import of the very judgments cited by Bradley —"You are standing before me", "A is to the north of C", etc. When we say "London is south-east of Liverpool", are we not synthesising in a unity, the other knowledge we had of London before making this judgment, with the knowledge that it is situated in a certain direction in relation to Liverpool? Is not the import of the judgment, in other words, the assertion of the unity, underlying what we mean by 'London' and 'south-east of Liverpool'? It is this unity which is the substantive, not the grammatical subject. Nor is there the defect of logical torture. 'A is simultaneous with B' cannot without torture be treated as equivalent to 'simultaneity exists in A B'; but we may surely understand that 'what we cognise as A, without reference to its temporal relation to B, is

import will appear to him never as an end-in-itself, but only as a half-way house to akhaṇḍārtha.

Note. It may be noted that the predicative view of propositional import is not identical with the attributive view, whether in Western or in Indian Logic. The viśeṣaṇa is to be understood as characteristic, rather than as attribute (guṇa). The former would apply to the predicates in relational propositions too, as they are called in Modern Logic; *see* Mellone, *Elements of Modern Logic.* p. 79. On Judgment as an act of superposition, *see* P. T. Raju in the *Calcutta Review*, September, 1935.

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also that which is contemporaneous with B'. The Indian philosopher's approach through the 'word' as pramāṇa is probably responsible for his preoccupation with propositions, rather than judgments; hence the Advaitin's attempt to show that akhaṇḍārtha may *also* be signified, not that it is the only significance. The same preoccupation accounts for the advocacy of the *abhihitānvayavāda*; due attention to the judgment as the unit of thought might have resulted in unwavering adherence to the view that the sentence-sense is primary.

THE KUCARA GRĀMA DĀNA PATRA OF MĀDHAVA ĀCĀRYA (MANTRIN)

BY

V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D.

On p. 25a of the Adyar Mss. Catalogue, II, there is the interesting entry "Kucaragrāmadānapatram (Rājavaṁśāvaliḥ)" Mādhavācāryakṛtam, 8. H. 37. My avidity to examine this was immediately eaten up by the unfortunate information that this manuscript was lost. And so was also lost another historical record, Śilāśāsana patrikā, 8. H. 36, noted on *ibid.* p. 26b.

But what is this Kucaragrāmadānapatra and of kings of which dynasty does it give a genealogical list? The name Mādhavācārya put the idea into my mind that this must be a document bearing on Vijayanagar history.

While continuing my study of Sanskrit Literature during the Vijayanagar times, I came upon the information necessary to understand the entry in the Adyar Catalogue, Kucaragrāmadānapatra, the grant-deed of the village of Kucara. The Indian Antiquary, XLV, 1916, p. 5, the late Mm. Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar's article on Mādhavācārya and his younger brother, and the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the RAS, IV, 1852,—Major George Le Grand Jacob's article on Three copper-plate charters, pp. 97-116-, furnished the required information.

King Bukka I had two great Mādhavas as ministers: One was Mādhava of the Bhāradvājagotra, Bodhāyanasūtra and Yajuś-śākhā, the son of Māyana and Śrīmatī and the elder brother of Sāyaṇa and Bhoganātha; this Mādhava had better be referred to as Mādhava Ācārya; he is the author of the Parāśaramādhavīya, the Kālamādhava etc. Different from him was his namesake, Mādhava mantrin, as we shall distinguish him, the son of Cāvuṇḍa of the Āṅgirasagotra and Mācāmbikā.[1] In Epigraphia Carnatica, VII, Shikarpur 281, we find details about this Mādhava mantrin. This epigraph is dated A.D. 1368. We

1. JBBRAS. IX, 228.

learn here that this Mādhava mantrin, the essence of both Brahma and Kṣatra, won the Aparānta territory on the western coast for Bukka I and was entrusted with the government of that country. He crushed the Turuṣkas and established temples for Śiva there. He was the pupil of Kāśīvilāsa Kriyāśakti Ācārya and was a Śaivite, a worshipper of God Tryambaka. He is referred to further as the establisher of the path of the Upaniṣads. He was administering the province under the governorship of Mārapa, younger brother of the king, according to an epigraph of A.D. 1347. (Epi. Car. VIII, Sorab 375). Two more inscriptions of A.D. 1368 and 1384 also refer to his ruling the Banavāsi territory.

Besides these, there is one more inscription, and it is this that forms the original of the lost Adyar 'Kucaragrāmadānapatra.' Jacob (JBBRAS. IV. Old Series, pp. 107-110 and 115-116) gives the text and the substance of this inscription. After mentioning Saṅgama, Bukka and Harihara, the inscription says: By the order of Harihara II, Mādhava mantrin was ruling Banavāsi from Jayantīpura; after uprooting the Turuṣkas settled there, and capturing Goa from their hands, he established the worship of Hindu deities like Saptanātha. But when the grant mentioned in this inscription was made, *i.e.* in A.D. 1391, Mādhava mantrin was evidently dying; for his death is referred to and his successor, Narahari, described as a king and minister, and as a disciple of Vidyāśaṅkara, is mentioned in the inscription. Narahari, like Mādhava, was a Brāhmaṇa and a scholar; both Mādhava and Narahari are described as kings by virtue of their office. In A.D. 1391, Mādhava renamed the village named Kucara into Mādhavapura after himself, and granted it to 24 Brāhmaṇas. For the list of the 24 Brāhmaṇas, *see* JBBRAS., IV, OS, p. 109. The gift was made by Mādhava mantrin and the Śāsana was composed by perhaps somebody else. So Mādhava is not the author of the Śāsana.

It is this Mādhava mantrin, disciple of Kāśīvilāsa Kriyāśakti and worshipper of God Tryambaka, that wrote the commentary Tātparyadīpikā on the Sūtasaṁhitā (Ānandāśrama Series, No. 25). On p. 433 of his Sūtasaṁhitāvyākhyā, Mādhava mantrin cites, without mentioning the name of the author or of the work, the Vaiyāsika nyāya mālā of Bhāratītīrtha, the pupil of Vidyātīrtha and the Guru of Māyana Mādhava and of the royal

house. Did Mādhava mantrin write any other work or works besides the Sūtasaṁhitāvyākhyā? In most of his inscriptions he is referred to as Upaniṣanmārgapravartaka. It is true that large portions of the Sūtasaṁhitā are a mere resume of some of the principal Upaniṣads, but it cannot be said that Mādhava mantrin's claim to the title 'Upaniṣanmārgapravartaka' was based only on his Sūtasaṁhitāvyākhyā. In an inscription of Mādhava mantrin edited by Mr. G. V. Acharya in the Ep. Ind. XXI, p. 17ff, Mādhava mantrin is described as commentator on all the Upaniṣads, as the publisher of Śaiva āgamas and as the author of poems.

—स निर्जिताखिलभूपालः, सर्वोपनिषदां व्याकर्ता, शैवागमानां प्रकाशयिता, काव्यानां कर्ता, महादानानां विधाता etc.

It is by virtue of his Upaniṣad-vyākhyānas that he must have earned the title 'Upaniṣanmārgapravartaka'. That he did valuable work on the Śaiva āgamas is confirmed by another record dated Śaka 1268, a copper-plate grant of prince Mārapa under whom Mādhava mantrin was governor. (Mysore Arch. Report for 1929, p. 159. No. 90). This inscription says with reference to Mādhava's literary work (p. 166):

त्रयीं समालोच्य पुराणसंहिता हिताय लोकस्य हि येन मन्त्रिणा ।
प्रसादितत्र्यम्बकशासनात् कृतः समस्तशैवागमसारसङ्ग्रहः ॥

The Mysore Arch. Report (p. 172) is not correct in suggesting that this, after all, refers only to his Sūtasaṁhitāvyākhyā. The Sūtasaṁhitā is hardly an Āgama or a compendium of all the Śaiva āgamas. From these two inscriptions we definitely know that Mādhava worked on the Śaiva āgamas and produced a compendium of all the Śaiva āgamas, (Samasta śaiva āgama sāra saṁgraha). I would suggest that the above verse is slightly in need of correction. 'Trayīm' in accusative must read 'Trayī' in nominative; 'Samālocya' must be the verb 'Samāloci':—

त्रयी समालोचि पुराणसंहिता etc.

which means: The Vedas were explained (उपनिषदां व्याकर्ता); the Purāṇasaṁhitā was explained (सूतसंहिताव्याख्या) and the essence of all the Śaiva āgamas was extracted in a compendium. Thus three works are referred to in this verse. None of these Upaniṣadvyākhyānas nor the Śaivāgamasārasaṅgraha of Mādhava has yet come to light; nor has any Kāvya of his been yet known.

In the Annual Report of the Mysore Arch. Department for 1934, pp. 124-126, is found the copy of a grant dated A.D. 1440 in the time of Devarāya II at Vijayanagar and of Puruṣottama bhāratī at Śṛṅgerī, found in a palm-leaf ms. in the Śṛṅgeri Mutt. The donor here is Lakṣmaṇṇa, son of Bācaṇṇa Voḍeyar of Gōve, the son of Bommarasa of Ron of Ātreya gotra and Ṛk śākhā. The donor refers to previous grants by his elder Mādarasa and of his own father Bācaṇṇa.

It may be worth while to identify the names occurring in this grant. The Kucara-grāma-dāna-patra settles the identity of these persons. Bācaṇṇa is Bhāskara, younger brother of Narahari,—both sons of Brahmarasa (Bommarasa) of the Ātreyagotra. Their mother was Mambāmbikā. Narahari was the successor to Mādhava mantrin as the Governor of Goa. The following is the verse in the Kucara-grāma-dāna-patra about Narahari's family:

आत्रेयान्वयवारिधावुदभवन्मम्बाम्बिकागर्भत:
साक्षाद्ब्रह्मरसाभिधद्विजवराद्यो भास्करस्याग्रजः ।
विद्याशङ्करसत्कृपामृतरसासारेण संवर्धितो
विद्वत्कल्पमहीरुहो नरहरिः क्षोणीपतिर्भासते ॥

JBBRAS. IV. OS, p. 115.

The Mādarasa referred to in the other grant as an elder of Lakṣmaṇṇa is not any relation of his; he is identical with Mādhava mantrin.

There is as yet no evidence to fix the identity of Narahari and his brother Bhāskara. We know of a Narahari Somayājin who was one of the three collaborating authors of the Sāyana Vedabhāṣya, to whom Harihara II's son Cikkarāya made a grant in A.D. 1381 and Harihara II himself, in A.D. 1386. There is a lexicographer Bhāskara of this court and of this time, and another Bhāskara of this court and of this time who wrote the Unmattarāghava (Kāvyamālā, 17) on the occasion of a festival in honour of Śrī Vidyāraṇya.

The inscription edited by Mr. G. V. Acharya in Epi. Ind. XXI, p. 17ff is dated in the same year as the Kucara-grāma-dāna-patra, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1391. Instead of giving Mādhava mantrin's gotra as Āṅgirasa, it gives the gotra as Bhāradvāja. But Mr. Acharya explains that Āṅgirasa is only a branch of Bhāradvāja and, in every other detail, the Mādhava described here is identical with the Governor of Goa, Mādhava mantrin.

In fact, many passages of this inscription agree verbally with passages in the Kucara-grāma-dāna-patra. In this grant also, Mādhava's successor, Narahari, son of Brahmarasa, of Ātreya gotra and pupil of Vidyāśaṅkara, is mentioned.

In his introduction to the text of this inscription, Mr. Acharya makes a mistake when he says with reference to the Kucara grant (JBBRAS. IV, p. 115):—

"The account given there agrees with that of the present document though it omits the name of Mādhava's father and gives the name of his mother, *i.e.*, Mambāmbikā, and of his elder brother Bhāskara."

The Kucara grant refers neither to the father nor to the mother of Mādhava. Mambāmbikā, wife of Brahmarasa, is mentioned as Narahari's mother; and Bhāskara mentioned is the younger (not elder) brother of Narahari, and not of Mādhava.

TIRUPPŪR CŌḶĪŚVARAM UḌAIYĀR TEMPLE.

9th century (of Vijayālaya's days)

BY

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Chidambaram

and

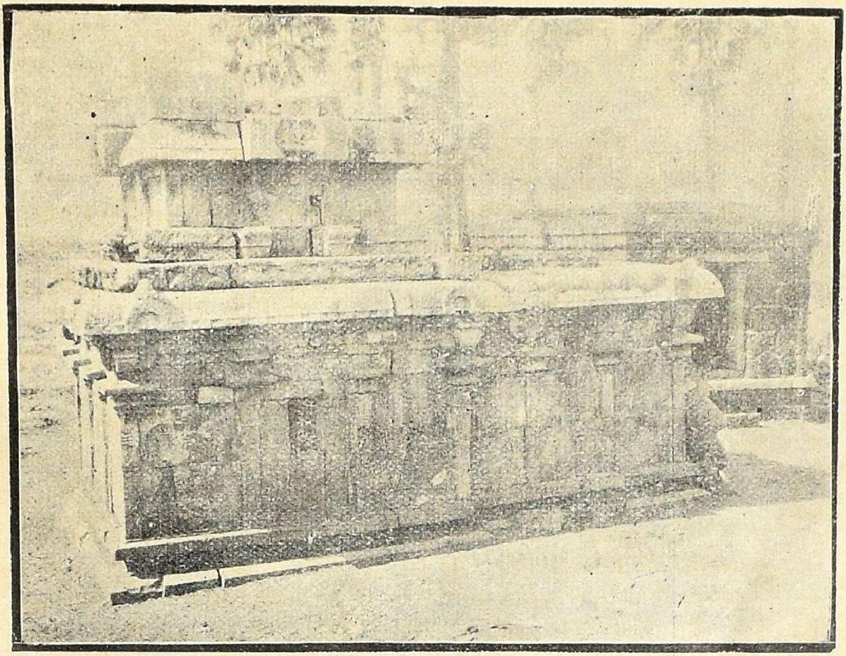
K. VENKATARANGA RAJU,

Pudukotah.

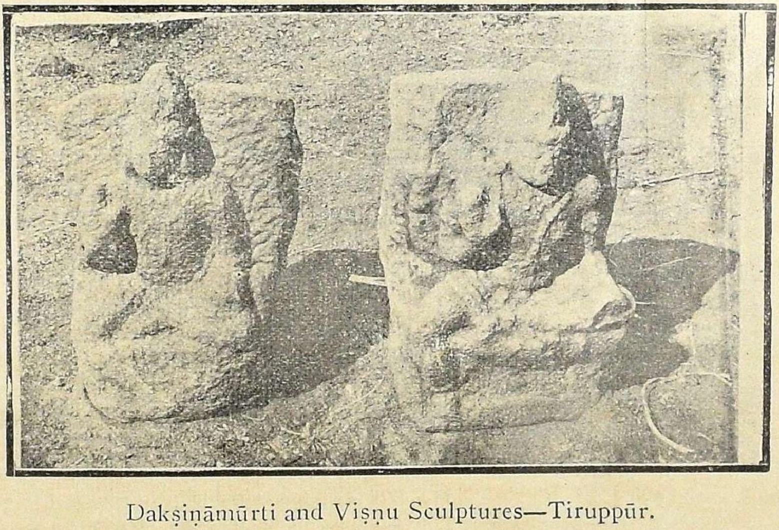
In our paper on Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi[1], we have referred to the fact that the Cōḷīśvara temple at Tiruppūr is, from stylistic considerations and also its shape and size, to be assigned to the same age.

Tiruppūr is a small village in the Vīṟakkuḍivaṭṭam of the Kuḷattūr Taluk of the Pudukottah State about 20 miles from the capital of the state and five miles from Kīṟaṉūr. The temple stands in the north-west corner of the village on the bund of the local tank. The structure is a replica of that of Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi and Viśalūr. The shrine consists of a *garbhagṛha* and a closed ante-chamber. It faces east. On plan the *garbhagṛha* is 7′ 9″ square and its walls are 1′ 9″ thick. The gateway measures 3′ 2″ in height and 2′ 3″ in breadth. The vestibule is six feet square. As in Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi and in Vijayālayacōḷīśvaram, there are no niches on the walls of the *garbhagṛha*. The pilasters are also of the same style. The corbels have an angular profile as in the two temples above referred to. The single arched cornice has *kūḍus* crowned with small trifoliated head. There is a *yāḷi* frieze above the cornice. The *grīvā* is provided with niches, which have *kūḍus* on the top. In these niches should have been housed the deities of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Dakṣiṇāmūrti. Only Brahmā in the north is in position and the other images are found near the basement, and the illustrations will prove their archaic character. Three of the four nandis which should have once adorned the four cardinal points round the

(1) J. O. R. Vol. XII, No. 1.



Śiva Temple—Tiruppūr.



Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Viṣṇu Sculptures—Tiruppūr.

Mahāvīra—Tiruppūr.

basement of the *śikhara* are found lying about. The *śikhara* is in ruins. Most of the stones at the top have fallen off. The shape of the *śikhara* is square at the bottom and curvilinear in shape. The interior is pyramidal, as in Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi.

We have already shown in our article on Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi that the *śikhara* of this temple resembles that of Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi, Viśalūr, Tirukaṭṭalai and Koḍumbāḷūr. But the *vimāna* at Koḍumbāḷūr is a two-storeyed structure surmounted with the *grīvā* and the *śikhara* including *stūpi* above. As we have said already there are 'precedents' as well as 'consequents' to this "square cupola-like umbrella at the top of the *vimāna*" of Koḍumbāḷūr which Father Heras considered totally unique in South Indian architecture and the Tiruppūr temple *vimāna* will be another precedent to that of Koḍumbāḷūr.

The lower edges of the cornice and the *śikhara* are adorned with a series of small semi-circles in the fringes. The *vimāna* should have also been decorated with stucco. There are no traces of sub-shrines all round. But there is a later *Amman* (Goddess) shrine built of laterite in the north-east corner of this temple.

The main shrine of the temple of Mārgasahāyeśvara at Viśalūr is in all respects similar to this, but the old main shrine has had various accretions in later times as in the case of Viśalūr. There is a mutilated inscription on the topmost layer of the basement on the south side of this temple of the 40th (?) year of Kulōttuṅga I. This is clear proof that the age of a temple cannot be determined solely from inscriptions on the monument. In this case mainly from stylistic considerations, this temple has to be assigned to the same age as that of Vijayālayacōḷīśvaram at Nārttāmalai and the Kāḷiyāpaṭṭi Śiva temple, *i. e.* to the period of Vijayālaya-Cōḷa who reigned in the latter half of the 9th century A. D.

The existence of Jainism in this region,—it should have been from at least the early centuries of the Christian era—is attested by the presence of a beautiful figure of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara on the southern edge of another tank to the south-west of this temple. Its measurements are given below:—

Total height 3′ 8″.

Height of the figure alone 1′ 7″

Breadth from knee to knee 1′ 7″

Width 2′ 2″

Breadth from shoulder to shoulder 1′ 0″

Height of pīṭham 1′ 0″.

The lion figures sculptured below the *pīṭham* point to the conclusion that it is a figure of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra. The face is weather-beaten and worn out. There is the usual triple umbrella above and two attendant spirits, perhaps Mataṅga and Siddhayika.

KĀLIDĀSA'S ŚRAVYA-KĀVYAS*

BY

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I esteem it a great honour and privilege to have been called upon to address the Madras Sanskrit Academy in connexion with the celebrations of the Kālidāsa Day. My studies in Sanskrit literature have been those of an amateur and I propose, therefore, to content myself with the humble, but not unpleasant duty of inviting your attention to some of the beautiful things in the writings of our great poet. I hope this will not appear inconsistent with the purpose for which we have met to-day.

I will confine myself this afternoon to a brief survey of Kālidāsa's poems excluding the consideration of his plays, for, within the limits of the time allotted to me, it would be impossible to treat of both adequately.

Whether *Ṛtusaṁhāra* is Kālidāsa's work or whether it is a poem fathered on him has long been a matter of critical controversy. Opinion seems inclined at present to favour Kālidāsa's authorship of it, as there is no serious internal evidence to contradict the traditional view.

Ṛtusaṁhāra is a poem descriptive of the sights and sounds of nature in the six seasons of the Indian year. The flowers that blossom in each season, the songs of the birds peculiar to each, the heat, sultriness, chill or other conditions of every season are alluded to in the first half of each canto, and in the second half the poet describes the jewels put on or off by women as befitting the different seasons and the manner in which lovers entertain themselves during each.

If *Ṛtusaṁhāra* is Kālidāsa's composition, it must be his earliest work, for there is a certain artificial symmetry in the

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* Address delivered on the *Kālidāsa Day*, celebrated in Madras, by the Saṁskṛta Academy, Madras, on 3—10—1938.

description of the six seasons and of the entertainments of men and women in each. The voluptuous images are just what one would expect of a youthful poet and the reflections that arise from a contemplation of the weather are not very deep. The style is perfectly lucid.

Among the finest pictures in the lyric may be mentioned the graphic account of the forest fire in canto I of which the following is a free rendering: It is summer. The woodland tracts are burnt by the wild fire which spreads rapidly everywhere owing to the force of the wind. The fire leaps from the branches of trees to the creepers clinging to them. The dry bamboos crackle, the grass is consumed to ashes, the deer rush to and fro in a panic, the birds find no shelter among the leafless groves. In the hollows of trees the fire shines like gold and the wild animals in the woods forget their old feuds and rush from their caves to the beds of rivers.

Occasionally, however, the poet indulges in wild exaggeration, as when he speaks of the serpent resting its head on the tail of the peacock for shelter from the heat and of the peacock refraining from injuring its enemy.

When we turn from *Ṛtusaṁhāra* to *Meghasandeśa*, we are impressed by the great difference between apprentice work and the flawless workmanship of the mature artist. *Meghasandeśa* is a pure lyrical gem and by virtue of the harmonious blending in it of ingenious fancy and deep emotion, of its refined sentiments and varied descriptions, of the grace and liquidity of its diction and the pensive elegiac rhythm of its metre, it stands unsurpassed in excellence by any lyric of equal length in any language. The theme is extremely simple: a Yakṣa separated from his wife by his master's curse, sends a message to his beloved by a passing cloud. But into this simple framework what a fine knowledge of the human heart, what a variety of description and what exquisite reflections on human life now sad, now playful, have been fitted by the poet!

In the first eleven stanzas which form the introduction the poet describes the Yakṣa's curse and his residence in the shady groves of Rāmagiri, the appearance of the cloud on the slope of the hill, the Yakṣa's resolve to send a message to his beloved at Alakā by the cloud and his inability, owing to the blindness of passion, to perceive the unfitness of the cloud for his purpose.

The Yakṣa greets the cloud and welcomes him with fresh flowers and begs him to convey his message to his beloved, for is not the cloud the refuge of all who suffer from the fires of the world?

The remainder of the first part of *Meghasandeśa* is devoted to a description of the route to be taken by the cloud. The artistic difficulty that the poet had to face here is obvious. The account of the route consisting of the cities, mountains and rivers that the cloud had to pass during the journey was apt to become in the hands of a lesser poet flat and monotonous. Several mountains lie on the way, and what the cloud had to see and do at each must be different. So also while at each of the many streams on the way, the cloud had to do something new and different so that the description might not become a bare enumeration and avoid also repetition and monotony. With exquisite poetic tact and a playful fancy, Kālidāsa contrives to secure variety of interest. Let the cloud bid farewell, says the Yakṣa, to the mountain Rāmagiri, his dear friend, who still bears the sacred marks of the footsteps of Śrī Rāma. Whenever the cloud returns to the mountain after a separation, the latter shows his delight with warm vaporous sighs. When the cloud starts from the top of the hill, the silly Siddha women will wonder whether a peak has detached itself from the mountain and is flying off. The mountain Āmrakūṭa will welcome the cloud with grateful joy and bear him, as it were, on his head, for has not the cloud quenched the fire in his forests with his showers? Even small men show love to those who have done good to them. How then could one who is so lofty remain thankless? At another mountain the cloud will do well to rest awhile in the bowers of the woodsmen and then to start towards the Vindhya range. On the Himālayas, he will see the rocks rendered fragrant by the muskdeer and may happen to encounter Śarabhas springing upon him with fury. The cloud should drive them off with his hailstones. Proceeding further he will see the pass in the rocks made by Subrahmaṇya through which the swans migrate to the Mānasa Lake. He will then reach Mount Kailās where, if he should have the privilege of seeing the Lord Śiva walking arm in arm with Gaurī, he should reverently freeze himself into a hard stair-case for their ascent.

In speaking about the rivers on the way to Alakā, the Yakṣa becomes even more varied in his fancies. The cloud is

the lover or the husband of the rivers. The stream Nirvindhyā has become thin and pale owing to her long separation from the cloud. So when he returns to her, he should so comport himself that she becomes healthy and happy again. On reaching the Ganges and while hanging over her waters the cloud will create by his reflection below the illusion of the Jumna having united with the Ganges even above Prayāg. The river Gambhīrā will look at her cloud-lover with eager longing glances when the fish leap about, and the cloud will do well not to disappoint her love. When he reaches the Carmaṇvatī, he should bring to his mind the legend of the origin of the stream from the blood of the cows sacrificed by Rantideva.

In describing the cities on the way the Yakṣa refers naturally to their importance in ancient history and legend. Kurukṣetra will, for example, remind the cloud of the exploits of Arjuna in the great war. Though Ujjain is not on the direct route, the cloud should make it a point to visit the city and to play with the timid glances of the women when he lightens. He will become fat there by the fumes of incense issuing through the windows of the mansions. Ujjain is an Earthly Paradise and the cool breeze of the waters of the Śiprā blows gently on lovers early in the morning. At night the cloud will earn the gratitude of the light women of the city by showing them their way in the darkness with his lightning.

Having thus rendered his account of the route beautiful with the colours of fancy, the poet in the second part displays his insight into the hearts of lovers suffering from separation. Equally wonderful is the sense of proportion or evolution with which he builds up the lyric theme. Having reached Alakā, the cloud has still to find the Yakṣa's house. The splendour of the capital of the God of Wealth is appropriately described in the first seven or eight ślokas. The lofty houses pointing to the sky and built of marble, the abundance of gold and precious stones in every mansion, the parks and gardens where young men and women entertain themselves—these have to be portrayed before the Yakṣa tells the cloud to find his own house among them. And here in the description of the Yakṣa's house, Kālidāsa shows his pictorial imagination. The representation is what we should expect of a painter. The Yakṣa's house is to the north of Kubera's palace and there is an arch with variegated colours erected in front of it. At its entrance is a young Mandāra tree brought up like a child by his wife and bearing flowers which

can be reached with the hand. Close by is a lovely tank with steps of emerald on which swans glide gaily. On its bank is a pleasure-house where the cloud will find a red Aśoka tree, and in that pleasure-house he will see a crystal perch resting on a golden support where his wife used to train her favourite peacock to dance. All this description might well form a beautiful picture drawn by an artist. The house having been identified, the cloud should be helped to recognize the Yakṣa's wife. The Yakṣa grows eloquent over her charms, but soon realizes with sadness that she must now be completely altered in appearance owing to the grief of separation. Her eyes would be red with frequent weeping, her lips would have become pale with the hot breath of incessant sighs. She would be rapt in pensive thought resting her cheek on the palm of her hand. Or she would be found in an attempt to entertain herself with drawing her husband's portrait, imagining his love-lorn appearance. Or she may be asking her pet शारिका in the cage, "Dost thou remember my lord! for thou wert his great favourite?" Or she will compose a song with his name in it and play it on the Vīṇā when the tears will fall from her eyes on the strings and she will forget the words though composed by herself. In these fifteen or sixteen ślokas where the Yakṣa describes the sorrow-stricken state of his wife, Kālidāsa shows his deep knowledge of the tender hearts of women. The picture of cultured luxury and refinement that the poet draws before us in the account of his house and of his wife's condition during his absence is extremely vivid and is unsurpassed in its rich elegance and the delicacy of its colouring. There is not the least trace of anything commonplace. From the 31st stanza to the end of the poem is the the message itself. The cloud should introduce himself to the lady as her husband's friend who has brought her his message. He should then tell her that her husband is alive at Rāmagiri and that he seeks her resemblance in the eyes of the deer, in the face of the moon, in the tail of the peacock, but does not find it anywhere. He draws her portrait on the rock, but leaves it incomplete owing to the tears that blind his eyes. He dreams of her constantly and welcomes the north wind in the hope that it may have come into contact with her person. He wants her to take heart in this great sorrow which will soon pass away:—

कस्यात्यन्तं सुखमुपनतं दुःखमेकान्ततो वा
नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण ॥

In four months he will be with her and then they will enjoy a thousand-fold those blissful delights of which they have been deprived till now.

The constructive power that Kālidāsa shows in this progressive movement of thought and emotion leading step by step to the final message is admirable evidence of the ripeness of his art.

Kumārasambhava.

It is difficult to determine from internal evidence whether *Kumārasambhava* preceded or followed *Meghasandeśa.* In point of artistic beauty it does not show any superiority to the shorter poem. If the tradition connected with अस्ति कश्चिद्वाग्विशेषः were to be any indication of the chronological order of the composition of the three great poems, it must have preceded *Meghasandeśa.* In *Kumārasambhava* Kālidāsa was lucky in the choice of his theme, as the story of the birth of Subrahmaṇya easily lends itself to unity of impression or interest. The gods suffer from the oppression and tyranny of the demon Tāraka and seek Brahmā's help. He advises them to bring about the union of Śiva and Pārvatī, as only the son born to them will have the strength to lead the army of the gods against the Asura. The circumstances seem favourable, as Śiva is now performing penance on one of the slopes of the mountain and Pārvatī has been asked by her father to minister to him. Indra seeks the help of Manmatha who, being humoured, proceeds on his dangerous mission. He aims his arrow at the Lord of the three eyes when Pārvatī is standing before him. Śiva feels a slight perturbation of the heart, and becoming aware of Manmatha's foolhardiness, burns him to ashes with the fire of his eye. The death of Manmatha has caused a complication and the gods are perplexed. Pārvatī too, who has determined to dedicate herself to the love of Śiva is struck with grief and, with the permission of her parents, performs severe austerities. Śiva is at last gracious and after a preliminary test of her devotion to himself marries her and the birth of Kumāra becomes possible.

Here we have the interest of a good story in which the incidents are inter-related and interwoven into an organic whole.

The first canto begins with a description of the mountain Himavān, which is, for the greater part, conventional. The reader feels that Kālidāsa saw the Himālayas, as it were, from a distance, and not as one who had been on the heights. Much is

said about the Śarabhas, the lions and the elephants. These could have been found only in the forest regions in the lower reaches of the mountain. The conventional Kinnaras and Siddhas traverse the upper regions with their wonted songs and loves. But the bitter cold and snow of even the moderate heights are not even barely hinted at. The word हिम occurs, it is true, once or twice, but the shivering cold is not rendered as vividly as one with actual experience of hill scenery and hill climate would have described it. The beauty of Pārvatī is then sought to be depicted in a number of stanzas. It has to be admitted that the commonplace similes of the lotus, the moon, the swan, the plantain and the like predominate and that there is very little of suggestive delineation. The second canto written in the simple अनुष्टुप् metre shows a higher imaginative art. Bṛhaspati's praise of Brahmā is in an elevated style. The sublimity of its phrasing is surpassed only by the similar praise of Viṣṇu by Brahmā in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. The tale of wrong and oppression suffered by the gods is poetically set forth, and Brahmā's reply, brief as it is, is marked by dignity and is worthy of his divine nature. The third canto reveals varied poetic qualities. It begins with the spirited boast of Manmatha that he will accomplish whatever his master, Indra, wants of him. With only Vasanta or Spring for his aid and with only flowers for his arrows he will melt the stout heart of even the supreme Śiva :—

तव प्रसादात् कुसुमायुधोऽपि सहायमेकं मधुमेव लब्ध्वा ।
कुर्यां हरस्यापि पिनाकपाणेर्धैर्यच्युतिं के मम धन्विनोऽन्ये ॥

In Manmatha's unawareness of the extreme peril into which his foolish boast has brought him, Kālidāsa has effectively employed the device of tragic irony. The effects of the untimely arrival of Spring or Vasanta are then vividly presented in a few ślokas. A comparison of them with the stanzas on Spring in the last canto of *Ṛtusaṁhāra* will illustrate the surer grip of the mature artist and his deeper power of reflection. After the usual enumeration of the buds and blossoms that greeted the approach of Spring the poet describes the effects of the season on man and the rest of creation. The deer sought their mates, the cuckoo's sweet notes resounded in the forests, the sages performing penance were surprised at the rise of desire in their hearts. The bee and the elephant felt the urge of instinct. Only the warning of Nandī kept Śiva's attendants from the light behaviour to

which the season inclined them. At his stern command, the trees stood motionless, the bees sat still, the fledglings of birds kept silent, the deer ceased to roam about. The forest suspended all its movements and resembled a forest painted in a picture:—

निष्कम्पवृक्षं निभृतद्विरेफं मूकाण्डजं शान्तमृगप्रचारम् ।
तच्छासनात् काननमेव सर्वं चित्रार्पितारम्भमिवावतस्थे ॥

Pārvatī's entrancing beauty as she approaches Śiva for service is also successfully pictured before the mind's eye. In marked contrast with the description of her charms from head to foot in set phrases in the first canto which leaves us cold, the poet here suggests to the reader's imagination the radiant brightness of her beauty by dwelling upon its effect on the beholder. Manmatha who had lost all his courage at the awful sight of Śiva in meditation now recovered from his despair and felt more hopeful.

तां वीक्ष्य सर्वावयवानवद्यां रतेरपि ह्रीपदमादधानाम् ।
जितेन्द्रिये शूलिनि पुष्पचापः स्वकार्यसिद्धिं पुनराशशंसे ॥

And the stanza in which the poet relates how the fire issuing from Śiva's eyes reduced Manmatha to ashes inspires the reader with awe by its quick movement, by the condensed force of its expression and by the effective repetition of the word संहर.

क्रोधं प्रभो संहर संहरेति यावद्गिरः खे मरुतां चरन्ति ।
तावत् स वह्निर्भवनेत्रजन्मा भस्मावशेषं मदनं चकार ॥

The dramatic vigour and realism of the different scenes in this canto incline the reader to place it among Kālidāsa's supreme efforts. In the fourth canto which is devoted to the lament of Rati at the death of her husband, Kālidāsa is in his element. His keen insight into the sorrows of love, his feminine tenderness in understanding women's feelings and giving them the expression appropriate to their nature, his mastery of pathos and his power of making the sound echo the sense by the choice of the right metrical form—the combination of these high poetical qualities excites the unstinted admiration of every discerning reader.

In his power of evoking the tender feelings and in the perfect felicity of his diction, Kālidāsa has few rivals in Sanskrit poetry. Vālmīki alone can be said to surpass him and Bhavabhūti only occasionally approaches him. While reading these ślokas one is

reminded of the kindred genius of Coleridge, Keats and Rossetti in English poetry. Had I the time and competence, I would illustrate the rare charm of all the thirty odd ślokas of this lament by rendering them into English, but I am afraid my attempt would only cause pain to all readers who have appreciated the original. How perfectly true to human emotion and how wonderfully simple and happy is the following stanza, for example, among others of equal beauty:—

अयि संप्रति देहि दर्शनं स्मर पर्युत्सुक एष माधवः ।
दयितास्वनवस्थितं नृणां न खलु प्रेम चलं सुहृज्जने ॥

"My beloved! Open your eyes and behold your friend Mādhava who is eager to see you. Men are sometimes fickle in their love to women but are constant in their friendship to men." With great reluctance, then, I pass rapidly from the fourth canto to the fifth, where the disappointed Pārvatī who has set her heart on winning the love of Śiva even at the risk of her life leaves the house for the forest with the permission of her parents and performs austerities of a severe nature exposing her fair form to the sun and the rain. The poetic powers that stirred the chords of pity in the contemplation of Rati's grief are now exerted with equal force in evoking admiration for the firm determination and defiance of physical discomfort that Pārvatī displays. As if by way of relief the poet next presents the scene of Śiva in the disguise of a Brahmacārin meeting his future wife and testing the strength of her love to himself. In the account of the interview between Śiva and Pārvatī and especially in the Brahmacārin's ridicule of Śiva, Kālidāsa reveals his capacity for humour. In the 6th canto, the marriage of Umā and Śiva is resolved upon, thanks to the negotiations of the seven sages. The ritual and the festivities of the wedding are then described at considerable length in the 7th canto. The eighth is devoted to an account of what we might call the honeymoon of the divine bride and bridegroom. Though Kālidāsa's treatment of their love on the human plane may be justified on the ground of the need for securing human interest, there are some ślokas in the eighth canto where the reader feels that Kālidāsa has over-stepped the bounds of propriety and taste. One wonders whether all the rigid austerities of Pārvatī's former penance and the unshakable determination with which she persisted in them were merely for this grossly sensual enjoyment.

Raghuvaṁśa

As it seems to be agreed on all hands that Kālidāsa's work in *Kumārasambhava* concluded with the eighth canto, I will now say a few words about the ripest of his great poems, the *Raghuvaṁśa.* When I call it the ripest of his poems, I do not mean that it is free from defects. I daresay it satisfies all the requirements of the definition of a महाकाव्य given by Sanskrit writers on poetics, but there is an inherent defect in it from which *Kumārasambhava* is free although it is not so full an expression of the author's genius. In writing of the race of Raghus the author chose a theme which by its very nature could not have a unity of interest or impression. As it is, the poem is a series of episodes having only the sequence of chronological succession. Like Shakespeare in some of his history plays, the author has presented a string of episodes which tradition had accumulated about the royal line of the Raghus and has exercised his poetic genius in enlivening some of them and breathing life into a few of the persons. It is a poem, therefore, of unequal merit and shows heights of imaginative power preceded or followed by low-lying flats of prosaic narrative or dreary genealogical accounts, like canto 18. What Kālidāsa's object could have been in choosing this intractable subject is difficult now to guess. It cannot be maintained that Rāma, the greatest of the Raghus, is the centre of attraction and that the accounts of his ancestors and descendants are only the introduction and the conclusion to that main theme. The representation of Rāma's greatness in *Raghuvaṁśa* cannot, either by its length or by its poetical merit, be considered as over-shadowing that of the other figures. The birth of Aja, Indumatī's choice of him in her स्वयंवर, his romantic love and his inconsolable grief at her death seem to be as prominent as the story of Rāma, if not more prominent. Had Kālidāsa some patron in view who claimed his descent from Raghu? If so, who was it? It could not have been the sickly effeminate voluptuary whose sensuality forms the subject of the last canto. Why does the poem end with this disreputable life when it could easily have been continued without any unity being violated? These are questions to which an amateur like myself can give no satisfactory answers.

I will therefore just recall to your mind some of the scenes or episodes in the long pageant of the history of the Raghus over

which Kālidāsa has shed the light of his poetic imagination. In the first two cantos Dilīpa's grief caused by childlessness and his devotion to the service of the sacred cow give the poet opportunities for idyllic representations of scenes of pastoral charm. The third canto describing Sudakṣiṇā's pregnancy has a realistic beauty though a prudish Englishman of the Victorian age might shrug his shoulders at some of the details. Though Kālidāsa has taken kings and courts for his argument, he delights in depicting the simple joys and sorrows of domestic life which are common alike to prince and peasant as against the pomps and processions of royalty. The joy of parents when their child smiles or when it learns to walk and to utter a few words is, for example, vividly rendered in ślokas 25 and 26 of the third canto :—

उवाच धात्र्या प्रथमोदितं वचो ययौ तदीयामवलम्ब्य चाङ्गुलीम् ।
अभूच्च नम्रः प्रणिपातशिक्षया पितुर्मुदं तेन ततान सोऽर्भकः ॥
तमङ्कमारोप्य शरीरयोगजैः सुखैर्निषिञ्चन्तमिवामृतं त्वचि ।
उपान्तसंमीलितलोचनो नृपश्चिरात् सुतस्पर्शरसज्ञतां ययौ ॥

Raghu's conquests and his performance of the Viśvajit form the theme of the fourth canto. To my mind the interview between Raghu and Kautsa which follows has a far greater appeal. Perhaps the most original section of *Raghuvaṁśa* is cantos 6, 7 and 8 in which Kālidāsa describes Indumatī's *Svayaṁvara*, the eagerness with which the women in the city rushed to the windows of their houses in order to have a look at the handsome prince whom their princess had chosen and the wedding rites that followed. These two cantos are justly famous and have on that account had several imitations. Kālidāsa seems to have delighted in them himself, for he has a number of ślokas on the same theme in *Kumārasambhava* also. The eighth canto which represents Aja's sorrow at Indumatī's untimely death is rivalled in its pathos and the propriety of its sentiments and phrasing only by the similar lament of Rati in *Kumārasambhava*. A close comparison of the two laments will reveal also the subtle differences preserved between a woman's way of expressing her grief and a man's. The canto concludes fittingly with the deep wisdom of Vasiṣṭha's words of consolation :—

मरणं प्रकृतिः शरीरिणां विकृतिर्जीवितमुच्यते बुधैः ।
क्षणमप्यवतिष्ठते श्वसन् यदि जन्तुर्ननु लाभवानसौ ॥

सशरीरशरीरिणावपि श्रुतसंयोगविपर्ययौ यदा ।
विरहः किमिवानुतापयेद्वद बाह्यैर्विषयैर्विपश्चितम् ॥
न पृथग्जनवच्छुचो वशं वशिनामुत्तम गन्तुमर्हसि ।
द्रुमसानुमतां किमन्तरं यदि वायौ द्वितयेऽपि ते चलाः ॥

The poet adds with his true insight into the human heart that wise as these words were, they bore no comfort to Aja in his great grief. Kālidāsa's tact is nowhere better seen than in his handling of the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in cantos 10, 11 and 12. A mightier poet than even he had already treated of it in a supremely realistic manner and it would have been an audacious attempt to cover the same ground at any length. Any elaboration of the well-known episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* would invite comparisons in which Kālidāsa might suffer. So with his wonted tact, he condenses in three or four ślokas the story of the Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa so dramatically narrated by Vālmīki and in the hundred odd ślokas of the 12th canto Kālidāsa rapidly summarises the events of the whole story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the 13th canto he finds an opportunity of being original and devotes it to a description of Rāma's flight with Sītā for Ayodhyā in Rāvaṇa's ærial car. He points out to her at first the scenes of his former wanderings in search of her and afterwards of his life in the woods in her company. The fourteenth canto continues the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* after Rāma's coronation by narrrating the banishment of Sītā. In the message that Sītā sends Rāma by Lakṣmaṇa who has, with tears in his eyes, broken to her the orders of his brother to leave her in the forest, we have another instance of Kālidāsa's command over pathos. One wonders whether in the combination of queenly dignity, subtle reproach and melting tenderness which they embody, stanzas 60-67 of the 14th canto are surpassed by any other passage in any literature :—

श्वश्रूजनं सर्वमनुक्रमेण विज्ञापय प्रापितमत्प्रणामः ।
प्रजानिषेकं मयि वर्तमानं सूनोरनुध्यायत चेतसीति ॥
वाच्यस्त्वया मद्वचनात् स राजा वह्नौ विशुद्धामपि यत् समक्षम् ।
मां लोकवादश्रवणादहासीः श्रुतस्य किं तत् सदृशं कुलस्य ॥
कल्याणबुद्धेरथवा तवेयं न कामचारो मयि दर्शनीयः ।
ममैव जन्मान्तरपातकानां विपाकविस्फूर्जथुरप्रसह्यः ॥
निशाचरोपप्लवभर्तृकानां तपस्विनीनां भवतः प्रसादात् ।
भूत्वा शरण्या शरणार्थमन्यं कथं प्रपत्स्ये त्वयि दीप्यमाने ॥

साहं तपः सूर्यनिविष्टदृष्टिरूर्ध्वं प्रसूतेश्चरितुं यतिष्ये ।
भूयो यथा मे जननान्तरेऽपि त्वमेव भर्ता न च विप्रयोगः ॥

Sītā says to Lakṣmaṇa:—

Convey my regards to my mothers-in-law and beg them on my behalf to remember the spark of their son within me. Kindly say to the king in my name, "Is your desertion of me for fear of gossip after having seen me pass through the ordeal of fire, worthy of your learning or of your race? You are however wise and are not perhaps self-willed in your treatment of me. It is the deadly sins of my previous birth that have borne their fruit in this. When I was in the forest in your company some time ago, I offered protection to the wives of the sages performing penance, when they trembled from the attacks of the Rākṣasas. How then shall I now seek their protection when you are ruling in all your splendour? I should be indifferent to this wretched life of mine but for the spark of yours which I bear in me. So I will practise rigid austerities after the birth of my child fixing my eyes on the sun that I may have you for my lord in my next birth also and that there may be no further separation between us."

And when Lakṣmaṇa had taken leave of her saying that he would deliver her message to the king, she cried aloud, the poet says, in the heaviness of her great sorrow like a Kurarī or osprey struck with fright. What a profound insight into the heart of true love is revealed in these stanzas! Sītā had contained herself as long as Lakṣmaṇa was in her presence. The moment he passed beyond her vision, she could no longer repress her grief and burst into a loud scream. The imaginative reader whose heart is pierced with the anguish of this passage is soon restored to serenity by the account of her meeting Vālmīki and of the words of consolation that fell from his lips.

Of the remaining cantos the most interesting is the 16th where the guardian deity of the deserted Ayodhyā appears before Kuśa and after bewailing the ruins of the city and the palace, begs him to return to the capital of his ancestors. The latter part of the canto where the poet pictures Kuśa's जलक्रीडा and the circumstances in which he married Kumudvatī is also of a fairly high poetical level. The next canto (18) is perhaps the least poetical in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. It is a bare enumeration of some fifty odd kings that reigned after Kuśa's son Atithi and before Agnivarṇa,

whose sensual indulgence and the consequent debility and disease that laid him low are the theme of the last canto.

I feel guilty of having already taxed your patience and shall therefore conclude with a few general observations on Kālidāsa's distinctive qualities as a poet.

Next to Vālmīki he is the most limpid of Sanskrit poets and this limpidity is combined with a happy felicity in his diction. His similes have been justly extolled for their appropriateness. Candour will, however, require the admission of a few examples of unpoetic pedantry. Occasionally we find an abstruse simile from the science of grammar or of Vedic ritual for illustrating a very simple idea which does not need any elucidation. Observe, for example, the following simile in the *Raghuvaṁśa* which Kālidāsa repeats in *Kumārasambhava* also :—

स हत्वा वालिनं वीरस्तत्पदे चिरकाङ्क्षिते ।
धातोः स्थान इवादेशं सुग्रीवं संन्यवेशयत् ॥

"After slaying Vālin, Rāma established Sugrīva on his throne like the आदेश which takes the place of the root in the conjugation of a verb."

Or the following:—

रामादेशादनुगता सेना तस्यार्थसिद्धये ।
पश्चादध्ययनार्थस्य धातोरधिरिवाभवत् ॥

Even the most devoted of the poet's admirers will concede that it is not happy to drag in the prefix अधि which goes before the root इ for the comparison of an army that went before Śatrughna.

So also is the simile of an exceptional rule overriding the application of a general law :—

यः कश्चन रघूणां हि परमेकः परंतपः ।
अपवाद इवोत्सर्गं व्यावर्तयितुमीश्वरः ॥

Sometimes Kālidāsa tries to illustrate what is simple by what is recondite and metaphysical. He says, for example, that the lake Brahma-saras is the source of the river Sarayū even as अव्यक्त gives rise to बुद्धि. Sudakṣiṇā follows the cow with devotion like the *Smṛtis* following the spirit or content of the *Śrutis*. But these few instances are like the spots in the sun. In general his similes are extremely felicitous. I may be permitted to give one

or two instances. The rivals of Aja, disappointed in their expectations, preserved an outward calm while harbouring an inward hatred, like the waters of a deep lake wherein crocodiles lie concealed. The guardian deity of Ayodhyā appeared before Kuśa in his bed-chamber even though the doors remained shut, like the image of a person passing through a looking glass. Having heard of Rāma's breaking Śiva's bow, Paraśurāma has come to challenge Rāma to a single combat like a sleeping serpent awakened by the rattling of a stick. Raghu who had resigned his sovereignty in favour of his son Aja would not resume it when pressed by the latter with tears in his eyes. Would the serpent wear again the slough cast off before? Sometimes Kālidāsa makes an effective rhetorical use of antithesis as when in the eighth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* he contrasts Raghu and Aja who assumed respectively the roles of a वानप्रस्थ and a sovereign.

It has also to be said to the credit of Kālidāsa that he makes a sparing use of the figures उत्प्रेक्षा, श्लेष, विरोध and the like. An indulgence in them by later poets brought about the decadence of Sanskrit poetry. He does employ श्लेष but only on rare occasions, as if to show that he could display his ingenuity as well as any other poet if he chose.

There are over fifty stanzas in the ninth canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa* in which he makes a clever employment of यमक. But these verbal tricks do not appear elsewhere. Some of you will perhaps wonder at my including उत्प्रेक्षा among the causes of the later decline of Sanskrit poetry. I admit that a simple उत्प्रेक्षा may sometimes be poetical, but when it becomes subtle, ingenious and far-fetched, it becomes a vicious conceit distracting the attention of the reader from the emotion or रस, the story, and the characters to the cleverness of the poet which just raises a smile. When, for example, an author makes his lover say, 'Beautiful lady, the lotus clings to your feet with grateful joy, for the pride of the moon who is the enemy of its race that prevents it from blossoming in the night has been put down by the superior beauty of your countenance', the lover does not help us so much to realise the resemblance of his mistress's feet to the lotus as to smile at his own cleverness. An excessive indulgence in conceits of this kind is surely a mark of poetic decadence. Kālidāsa, one is happy to find, never goes to this excess in the

use of उत्प्रेक्षा. There are, however, a few conceits in the description of Pārvatī's beauty and of sunset and darkness in the 1st canto of *Kumārasambhava* which are not free from this affectation.

Among the poetic excellences of Kālidāsa, that which strikes us first is his pictorial imagination which I alluded to in connexion with the second part of *Meghasandeśa*. Other instances of this word-painting are found in the picture of desolation drawn in the 16th canto of *Raghuvaṁśa* where the ruins of the city of Ayodhyā are described. Every reader can easily visualise the picture in his own imagination. As a descriptive poet, Kālidāsa shows a weakness in his battle-scenes which never strike the note of martial vigour or heroism. In *Raghuvaṁśa*, scenes of battle and conquest are plentiful, but none of them with the exception of Paraśurāma's वीरवाक्य before Rāma in canto 11 can be said to excite the right emotion. Occasionally there is even a lapse of propriety of taste in the representation of defeat or death. One or two examples are perhaps necessary to justify this remark. Tāṭaka's death where a double meaning is hinted at by the force of श्लेष has been rightly pointed out by writers on poetics as wanting in propriety or औचित्य.

> राममन्मथशरेण ताडिता दुःसहेन हृदये निशाचरी ।
> गन्धवद्रुधिरचन्दनोक्षिता जीवितेशवसतिं जगाम सा ॥

So also is the attempt at playfulness and humour in the picture of Aja's foes killed by him in battle:—

> कश्चिद्द्विषत्खड्गहृतोत्तमाङ्गः सद्यो विमानप्रभुतामुपेत्य ।
> वामाङ्कसंसक्तसुराङ्गनः स्वं नृत्यत्कबन्धं समरे ददर्श ॥

I am given to understand that ślokas similar to this have been praised very highly in ध्वन्यालोक for the harmonious blending of बीभत्स and शृङ्गार; but to my untutored mind, the playfulness and शृङ्गार seem misplaced in a context descriptive of the horror of death.

Kālidāsa's real excellence lies in the tenderness and delight with which he depicts the primary affections of human nature, the coy love of maidens, the self-surrendering devotion of the husband and the wife to each other, the love of children and their innocent ways, the idyllic charm of quiet scenes of wood-

land life rendered holy by the abode of sages and the pathetic lament of the wife or the husband at the sorrow caused by death. I have referred to many an episode illustrative of these poetic merits of his. To them may be added the genuine delight in nature that he has revealed in his poems and plays. Nature is, to him, as to Wordsworth, alive. Even the meanest flower that blows, enjoys the air it breathes. The Yakṣa's wife looks upon the Mandāra tree as her adopted child and bestows loving care on it. Vālmīki consoles Sītā after her cruel banishment by saying that, watering the plants and trees near his hermitage, she will experience the love of a mother even before the birth of her child. The reader may remember also Śakuntalā's tenderness to the plants in the forest. Though the author of the playful fancies of the पूर्वमेघ and of the interview between the Brahmacārin and Pārvatī in *Kumārasambhava* cannot be denied the claim to a humourist, yet Kālidāsa's *forte* lay in the direction of pathos and tenderness. One thinks of रतिविलाप, अजविलाप, and Sītā's message to Rāma in connexion with Kālidāsa's name rather than of the power of depicting heroism or appealing to the sense of humour. He is the poet of sensuous loveliness and his poetic style is everywhere marked by the presence of beauty. The sublimity to which the simple style of Vālmīki easily and frequently soars was not always within his reach. I can only think of the gods' praise of Brahmā in *Kumārasambhava* and of the praise of Viṣṇu by Brahmā in *Raghuvaṁśa* as illustrations of the elevated or grand style in all his poems.

I have to crave your indulgence for just a word more before I finish. Kālidāsa's art as a metrist requires far closer study than I have been able to give it. Professor Keith has indeed enumerated the various metres employed by him in his poems and plays, but bare enumeration does not bring out the wonderful sense of propriety with which Kālidāsa chooses a certain metre as the best fitted for a certain emotional effect.

As an admirer and imitator of Vālmīki, he knew the capacities of the simple Anuṣṭup for the rapid narration of a story and for the condensation of a lengthy action within a brief compass. Kālidāsa knew also how the Anuṣṭup often enables the poet to attain to the exalted or sublime style far better than longer metres. He was aware of the simple stateliness or grandeur of Vālmīki's

रामं दशरथं विद्धि मां विद्धि जनकात्मजाम् ।
अयोध्यामटवीं विद्धि गच्छ तात यथासुखम् ॥
यथा काष्ठं च काष्ठं च समेयातां महोदधौ ।
समेत्य च व्यपेयातां तद्वद्भूतसमागमः ॥

And in the two passages that I referred to as instances of Kālidāsa's sublimity he has wisely followed his great master in choosing the Anuṣṭup for the purpose. It is recognised by all readers that the movement of the *Mandākrāntā* in *Meghasandeśa* is extremely appropriate to the pensive, melancholy note that is struck in the poem.

In Aja-Vilāpa the adoption of the *Viyoginī* metre is a master stroke of metrical art. I have had the privilege of hearing the stanzas in question recited by a great scholar with a fine musical voice and a true sense of verbal music. Since then I have realised Kālidāsa's rare power of making the sound an echo to the sense and of wedding perfect music unto noble words. The ślokas of the Rati-Vilāpa are in the same metre वियोगिनी which every reader with a sense of melody would appreciate as the aptest verse-form for the emotion embodied in the words. In such contexts the perfect harmony of thought, word, and rhythm created by the poet throws the reader into a mood of rapture and makes him forget the few faults of style and taste that I have ventured to indicate.

THEORIES OF ABLAUT

PART II.

BY

C. R. SANKARAN.

(Continued from J.O.R.M., Vol. XII, Pt. iii, Page 287.)

We have seen at some length in the previous instalment of this paper[1] Streitberg's theory. We have to remember that there are serious objections to this theory.[2] The real cause of *vṛddhi* still remains in obscurity. It is however recognised to be an alternative substitute for *guṇa*—an extra-strong grade—whose function even in the primitive Indo-European is analogous to that in Sanskrit. Sometimes its corresponding ordinary grade cannot be exactly traced, due to the influence of accent in monosyllables. Streitberg's theory did not take into account its connection with accent. Dehnstufe is a variety of the strong grade itself. Sometimes the strong vowel, like *ē*, may both belong to Vollstufe and Dehnstufe. According to modern scholars, Sanskrit *ā* is not only the *vṛddhi* form of *a*, but also a *guṇa* vowel[3]. These scholars obviously do not follow the teaching of Pāṇini here. (अदेङ्गुणः P. I, i. 2.) There may have been several factors involved in lengthening. For instance, we have, in historical times, many purely physiological processes of lengthening as the compensative lengthening attendant on consonant reduction and loss like *ēs* from *ens*, etc. According to Streitberg, lengthening in open syllables is restricted to accented short vowels. It is pointed out by Bloomfield[4] that it is impossible to account for the continued

1. J.O.R.M., Volume XII, Part iii, pp. 278-87.

2. Cf. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik I, Section 61. Hirt, Indogerm. Gr. II, 65 f. n.

3. Whitney, Skt. Gram., 236.
Wackernagel, *op. cit.*, 74. Macdonell, Vedic Grammar, Section 26.

4. C. D. Buck, Some general problems of Ablaut. *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XVII, (1896), p. 272.

existence of IE*_bhóro-s_ (φό ρο-ς) which is supposed to have changed to _bhōrs_ (φώρ). Michels ("Metathesis in indogermanischen", _Indogermaische Forschungen_, IV 60 [1894]) also shows how variously accented forms might have been confused. A strict interpretation of Streitberg's law would not explain the Sanskrit _cáritum_, _bhávitum_, etc. Doubtless the contracted form _ḗx_ developed from the uncontracted _éxə_ and it is impossible to determine the exact conditions under which this development took place. It is plausible that the medium of sonorous sounds affected the lengthening, for instance, _éiə_, _éle_ became _ḗi_, _ḗl_ etc., but _élə_, _égə_, etc. remained and _eiə_ and _ēt_ are analogical formations.[1] Again with reference to the dissyllabic roots, C. D. Buck[2] points out that de Saussure was fully justified in assuming a specific relation between the long weak forms and the '_udātta_' roots of the Sanskrit grammarians. The following parallelism is not due to chance.

bhūtá-s: _bhávitum_; _pūtá-s_: _pávitum_; _hūtá-s_: _hávitum_; _cīrṇá-s_: _cáritum_; _khātá-s_: _khánitum_; _dāmtá-s_: _damitā_; _Kāŋtá-s_: _kamitā_. It must be remembered that _bhav_ (iE* _bheu_) is not the unit of the strong form, but in its relation to the weak _bhū_. _bhavi_ (iE*_bheuə_) gives us a dissyllabic root. It may be that the primitive Indo-European _ə_ in * _bheuə_ was a suffix. However, according to Streitberg's theory, _bheu-ə_ would give only _bhēu_. Hence the monosyllabic _bhav_ (iE*_bheu_) cannot be derived from _bhavi_ (iE*_bheu-ə_). "We have rather side by side *_bheu_ and *_bheu-ə_, the last being a unit in its relation to _bhū_."

The presence or absence of _i_ before the verbal suffixes -_tu_- and -_tavya_ and the noun suffix -_tav_ in Sanskrit decides the question whether a root is dissyllabic or monosyllabic. But when we have forms with and without the _i_ side by side, this is not a distinguishing criterion. Indian traditional grammar classes _nī_ as _anudātta_ in spite of _náyitum_ beside _nétum_. On the other hand _sah_ is _udātta_ in spite of _sóḍhum_ by the side of _sáhitum_.

1. C. D. Buck, _op. cit._, p. 273.
2. _Ibid._

Two roots *a stṛ* (*star*), present *stṛṇómi*, (*anudātta*), and *a stṝ*, present *stṛṇāmi*, (*udātta*) are usually set up in regard to *stáritum*, *stīrṇá* -by the side of *stártum stṛtá*.[1] In the matter of roots in final *r*, *a* generalisation of the dissyllabic form takes place. For instance, *kariṣyáti* to *kártum cariṣyáti* to *cáritum*. The dissyllabic form makes its appearance also in several roots in *-n* and *-m* while their infinitives show monosyllabic form. Examples are *haniṣyáṭi* to *hántum*, *gamiṣyáti* to *gámtum*. However, in the case of roots in *-r* in passive, a distinction is clearly discernible. *Kriyáte*: *kṛtá-*, *kártum*, but *kīryáte*: *kīrṇá*; *striyáte*: *stṛtá-*, *stártum*, but *stīryáte*: *stīrṇá -stáritum*. But in the case of roots in *i* and *u*, there is no such distinction. *Śrūyáte*: *śrutá-*, *śrotum* and also *bhūyáte*: *bhūtá -bhavitum*. No doubt a generalisation of the dissyllabic form takes place in the case of desiderative of all roots in *-i*, *-u*, *-r*, *-m* and *-n*. In other words, we find either *-ayi*, *-asi* etc., or the weak *ī*, *īr*, etc. cf. *cikīṣā -śuśrūṣā-*, *didhīrṣā*, *jigāriṣā-*, etc.[2]

This generalisation of the dissyllabic form is solely responsible for the inflection of the *singular* of the *s -aorist* which manifests *vṛddhi* uniformly. Doubtless, the *vṛddhi* in *árāutsam* is due to analogy.[3] "But in roots ending in *i*, *u* and *r* the original types must have been: (1) dissyllabic formation *áṅāiṣam*:* *áṇīṣī*, (2) monosyllabic *áneṣam*:* *ániṣī*."[4] Generalisation took place in the singular. We meet the short weak form (as for instance *ákṛṣi*) of roots in *r* in the plural but sometimes the long also as *ákīrṣata*. There is no trace of the monosyllabic type in *u*, *i*. Either there is *u* as in *ahūṣata*, or more commonly we meet with *e* or *o*, substituted for *ū*, *ī* [cf. Johansson, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* 32, p. 509.] These dissyllabic root-forms are parallel to *ēi*, *ēu*, etc. in their relation to the low grade. Hence a schematic representation up to this point is[5]

1. Cf. Sigurd Agrell's Intonation und Auslaut in Slavischen. Archives D' Études Orientales. Published by J.A. Lundell. Volume VII, Upsal, 1913, p. 73. *cf. also* Kretschmer, Indogermanische accent und lautstudien. *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 31, 395.

2. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, Section 102d.

3. Cf. Streitberg, Die Entstehung der Dehnstufe. Indogermanische Forschungen III, p. 396 (1894).

4. Carl Darling Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 273. footnote.

5. *Vide* C.D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

	Weak	Strong		
Short	*u*	*eu*	*ou*	
Long	*ū*	*ēu*	*ōu*	contracted.
		euə	*ouə*	uncontracted.

There are again forms with long final vowel as Sanskrit *prā*, Greek πλη, Latin *plē* etc. The question is whether in this type also, there is yet another contracted form of dissyllabic roots. Brugmann advanced the hypothesis that the suffixes *ē*, *ō* and *ā* were added to the weakest form of the root as in *pl -ē*.[1] But some scholars take the view that it was a phonetic development of the dissyllabic root-form parallel to that which resulted in the strengthened forms *ēu*, *ēi*, etc. Doubtless, weak forms are frequent and these alternate regularly with the long weak grade. Skt. *śūná-s* by the side of *śvātrá-s*, *hūtá-s* by the side of Av. *zbātar*, *jītá*-s by the side of *jyāsyati*, *jā-nā́-ti* (but *jnā-tá-s*) by the side of *jnātum*, *stī-má-* (but *styā-ná-s*) by the side of *styā-ya-te*. Mitchels[2] revived the theory of direct metathesis to explain the phonetic process which resulted in *iē-*, *plē*. It is undoubtedly possible to have *iē* from *ēi* and *iō* from *ōi*, but if we derive *iā* from *āi*, it would certainly belong to the *a*-series, which is not clearly the case -*iā* (Lat. *iānua*), *ptā* (Greek πτή-σομαι), trā (Lat. *in -trā-re*), belong to roots of the *e-* series (*ei*, *pet*, *ter*, etc.).

Bechtel's theory[3] is that *pelé* developed to *plē*, *bhesé* to *psē*. A strong evidence which supports this view is the existence of *rū* besides *eru* in ρῡ τήρ: ερύω.[4] Similarly he seeks to explain *ptā* from *peta* (*Petə*) Greek ὄνομα. Lat *nōmen*, Skt. *nāma* prove to us that a dissyllabic root with final *o* might appear as a monosyllabic form with final *ō*. Nevertheless *ō* is the result of direct ablaut to *ē* or *ā*, in the majority of the forms of the type *gnō* γνωτός, Lat. *nōtus*.)

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1. cf. Kretschmer, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, 31, 404.

2. Michels, Metathesis in Indogermanischen. *Indogermanische Forschungen* IV, 58 ff. 1894.

3. Bechtel, Hauptprobleme, 190 ff.

4. *Cf. also*, Frohde, zur Jriechischen and lateinischen conjugation-*Bezzenberyer's Beitrage* 9 (1885), p. 122.

"The strongest argument for Bechtel's theory is the fact that it accounts for the agreement between the monosyllabic and dissyllabic forms in the quality of their vowels, an agreement which is too marked to be attributed to chance."[1]

Numerous instances of lengthening (Vṛddhi) are met with in Sanskrit. iE* *stā-*, Skt. *sthā́nam*, Lat. *stāre* (with the strong radical syllable in each case) whose etymological connection with iE* *stə-*, is clear -Skt. *sthitás*, Greek. *στατός*, Lat. *status*, Gothic. *sta*Es (all with the weak radical syllable). iE* *dō-*, Skt. *dā́syati* (with the strong radical syllable) connected with iE* *dəti-*, Lat. *datio* (with the radical syllable reduced through lack of accent. Vedic *maghátti-š*, *bhágattiš* show the vowel of the radical syllable entirely lost through further reduction in the third grade.[2] A convenient schematic representation at this stage would be as follows:—[3]

Grundstufe.	*o*-stufe.	Reduktions-stufe	Schuwundstufe.
τίνημι, *ἕνηκα* lat. *fēcī*	*νωμόσ*, *sacer-dōs*	*faciō*, Skr. *hitá-s*	Skr. I. pl. *da-d-hmás*
lat. *dās* lith. *dovanà*	*dōnum*, *δίδωμι*, lith *duoti*	*datus*	Skr. I. pl. *da-d-más* *dēvá-tta-s*.

ī and *ū* are the result of contraction of *i+ə* and *u+ə* as is evident from Sanskrit *īpsāmi* which is the desiderative of *āp* (=* *i-əp-so*) wherein *i* belongs to the reduplication and *ə* to the

1. de Saussure (Systѐme primitif, 271), considered the Greek forms as weak, like Sanskrit *īr*, *-ā*, *-ām*. cf. C.D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 275 and also p. 280 ff.

2. B. K. Ray, The Morphology of old English Noun and the verb, p. 20.

3. Holger *Pedersen*, Hittitisch und die Anderen Indo-Europäischen Sprachen=(Det kgl-Danske Videns-kabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Middelelser. XXV, 2.) Copenhagen, 1938, p. 280..

root. "And the parallelism of *dhē*: *dhə* suggests that the weak form of *dhēi̯* was originally *dhəi̯*, then with contraction *dhī* (Skt. *dhī-tá-s.*'[1]

The two sounds *i* and *u* should have been peculiar in their usage inthe PIE tongue. They had both a syllabic and a consonantal value (Brugmann, *kurze gramm.* 148. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik.* i. 55). Every IE diphthong had either *i* or *u* as a component (Brugmann. *kurze gramm.* 134-147).These sounds were on a par with the nasals and liquids.[2] We meet two with either *guṇa* or *samprasāraṇa* diphthongs formed by *i* or *u* in PIE and these exhibit the strong grade, corresponding to the weak grade simple vowels. For instance, *ei* (Skr. *ē*) *eu* (Skr. *ō*), *er*, *el*, *em*, *en*, *je*, *we*, illustrate the strong grade in the *e*-series, while *i* and *u* mark the weak grade. The simple sounds are derived from the diphthongs. [Wacknernagel, *Altindische Grammatik.* i. 55, Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar.* Section. 23 (2.) B. K. Ray, Old English Morphology, page 21.]

It is imperative also to recognize uncontracted weak forms *əi̯*, *i̯ə* and *əu̯*, *u̯ə*. Kretschmer assumes such a form to explain the Greek nominative singular in *ια*=Skt. *ī* (*έφρουσα* =Skt. *bhárantī*) and the neuter plural form *τρία*. A good number of roots show an ablaut *ēi̯*, *əi̯* and *ēu̯*: *əu̯*.[4]

(To be continued.)

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1. Cf. Kretschmer, Indogermanische accent-und lautstudien *Kuhn's Zeitschrift.* Vol. XXXI, p. 38 off. Barthlomae, Arm a > griech *o* und die indogermanischen vokalreihen. *Bezzenberger's beitrage* 17, p. 130, 1891, cf. C.D. Buch, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

2. Hirt, *Indogermanische Ablaut* 9. Ann. 1 *cf. also* Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* i. 57, Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 22.

3. IE *i* and *u* must have been preserved by the side of the reduced vowels. Cf. H. Pedersen, Das Prasens infix *n* 1893, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 2, 323 note.

4. Cf. Per Persson, *Wurzelerweiturung* 117, and also Wood, 'Reduplicating verbs in Germanic' Germanic Studies of the University of Chicago II, 27ff. Brugmann, Der präteritable Bildungstypus ahd *hiaz*, aisl *hét* und ahd. *liof* aisl. *hlióp*. *Indogermanische Forschungen* VI, 1896, pp. 89ff, C. D. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

A NEW INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PĀRTHIVENDRAVARMA

BY

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I learnt, a short time back, from Dr. N. Venkataramanayya of the Madras University that Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi knew of an inscribed slab of the Cōḻa period in Mint Street a few yards away from where the latter lived some years ago. I met Mr. Kavi and requested him to show it to me and he accompanied me every time I went to the place where it lay in Peddunaik Street, a lane in Mint Street, where it was thrown by a superstitious milkman from its original place in a small Ammaṉ temple there. The slab was soon secured for the Museum since as an inscription of the time of Pārthivendravarman it is of special interest to the student of South Indian History. I had contented myself with reading the name of the king and year before its acquisition and refrained from preparing estampages since that would have created a fuss and made the acquisition almost impossible. As it was turned on its back while it was removed I noticed there an unfinished figure of Jyeṣṭhā with late Pallava and transitional features.

Pārthivendravarman is considered a mysterious figure in South Indian History. His exact identity is not yet definitely established. Professor Nilakantha Sastri agrees with Mr. Krishna Sastri in identifying him with Āditya II. An inscription styles this king Ko Parakesari Vendrādivarma[1]; sometimes he is called Pārthivendrādivarma[2]; there are other inscriptions where he is called Pārthivendrādhipativarma[3]. As Pārthivendra Ādityavarma a name which occurs in one of his inscriptions[4], as Parakesari, and as Vīra-Pāṇḍyaṉ-talai-koṇḍāṉ[5], by which title

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1. S. I. I., Vol. III, Pt. iii, p. 356. The omission of Pārthi is in all probability an error of the scribe.
2. ,, ,, p. 373.
3. ,, ,, p. 365.
4. ,, ,, p. 333.
5. ,, ,, p. 333, 335.

also he is known, he is to be considered identical with Āditya II.[1] But the fact that his name is not found in the genealogy of the Cōḻas makes some scholars pause and consider whether after all he may not have been a chief under the Cōḻa Kings. But the name Pārthivendra, if it were a title—possibly it is, considering the various modifications it has in different inscriptions of the king—need not necessarily be expected in the genealogical list where the name of the king, Āditya, has the proper place. Perhaps king Āditya even as a prince and viceroy was admired by his subjects as Pārthivendra, a superior type of ruler or Pārthivendrādhipati, overlord of mighty kings, and, may be, his popular title was freely used in inscriptions. No two persons could have severed the single head of a Vīra-Pāṇḍya[2] and the title Parakesari taken together with the title Pārthivendra which is prefixed to Ādityavarma who is styled Vīra-Pāṇḍyantalai-koṇḍāṉ can establish the identity of the king. Again it is not as Pārthivendra that he is praised for securing the head of the Pāṇḍya. As one who accomplished that feat, he is called Pārthivendrādhipati, a title distinctly mightier. But on this score we do not doubt that both titles are of an identical person. Similarly then, this growth of the title of Āditya cannot obscure his right to it. In the region near about Madras have been found some inscriptions of this king and this is a new find, but it offers no new clue to solve this problem.

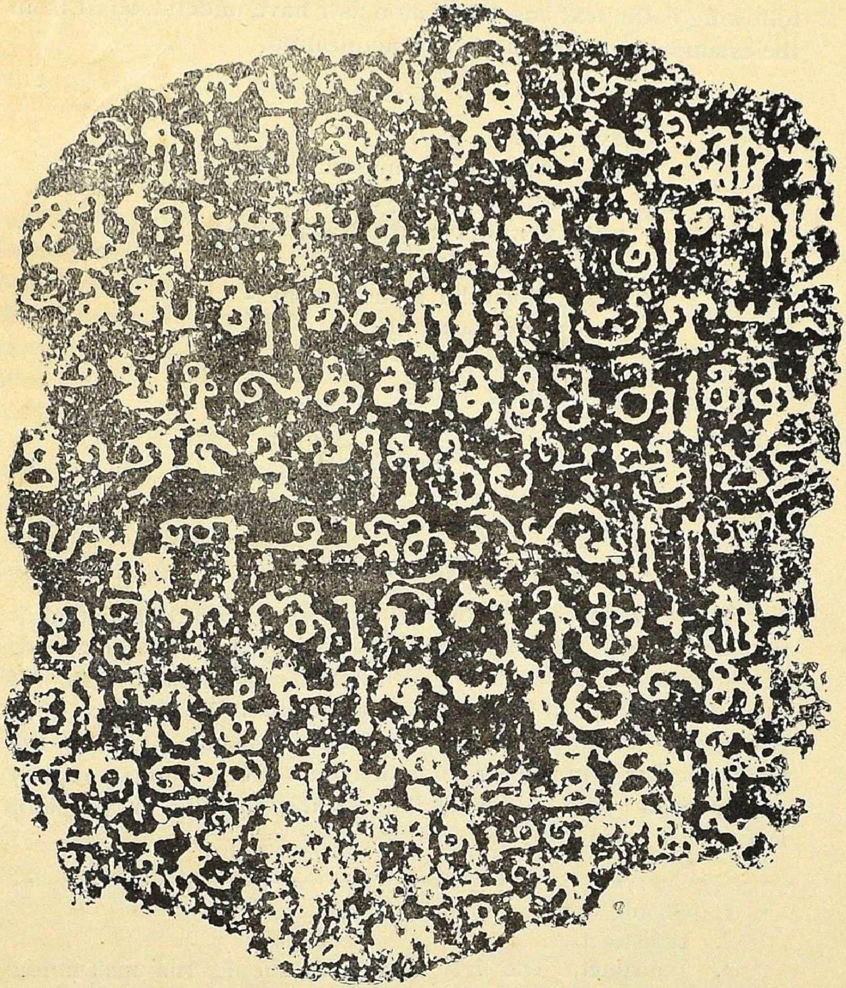
The inscription is dated in the eighth year of the king Pārthivendra and records the gift of ninety sheep to the temple of Mahādeva of Tiruchurathur in Nayadhīramaṅgalam situated in Puliyūr-kōṭṭam. The gift is made by the madhyastha of the village named Candraśekhara for maintaining a perpetual light in the temple.

The inscription is in Tamil and is incised in Tamil and Grantha letters of the 10th century A. D. The inscription is in a fair state of preservation and the script is interesting from the point of view of palaeography. Noteworthy letters are e, ca, na, ḷa, ru, vā and conjunct consonants with 'na' as the first letter.

1. Dr. Hultzch identifies Parakesarivarman 'who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya' (No. 70 of 1900) with Āditya II. S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 21.

2. The Koḍumbāḷūr chief Bhūti Vikramakesarī also claims to have vanquished Vīra-Pāṇḍya. Perhaps he helped Āditya.

E in eṭṭāvadu (l. 3) is almost a circular hoop and has no flattened enlongated top. Ca wherever it occurs has a lengthened top line which curves into a hoop. It is equally curled even at the bottom in some cases as in cca in vacca (l. 8). Na with a



double arched longish central line is an altogether new type. Ḷa in viḷakku (l. 8) is curved up at its lower end. Ru in Tiruccurattūr (l. 5) has a double curve for *utva*. The line denoting *dīrgha* for va in cāvā (l. 9) has a sharp angular projection at its bottom. Conjunct consonants beginning with na

show the peculiarity that na lends them. Though Grantha is used for Sanskrit terms, kha is not used for Candraśekhara. It is simply incised Candraśekara though the subtle differentiation between Grantha and Tamil ka is maintained as in the case of other letters. Similarly ta is not aspirated in madhyastha. The following is the text and translation as I have understood it from the estampages prepared after its acquisition.

Text.

Svasti Śrī
Ko Pārthivendravaṉmarkku yā-
ṇḍu eṭṭāvadu Puliyūr kōṭ-
ṭattu Curattūr nāṭṭu Nayadhī(ra)
maṅgalattu Tiruccurattūr
Mahā[1]devarkku ivvūr madhya-
staṉ Candrasekaraṉ(va)
cca nandāviḷakku [1] kku c
cāvā mūvā perāḍu to-
ṇṇūṟu iddhammam rakṣi
ppā(ṉ śrī)[2] pādam entalai
mel[3]......................candrā
....

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity! The eighth year of king Pārthivendravarma. Ninety undying and unaging big sheep given for perpetual light endowed by Candraśekara, the madhyastha of this village, for Lord Mahādeva of Tirucchurattūr[4] in Nayadhīramaṅgalam[5] situated in Curattūrnāḍu[5] of Puliyūr-kōṭṭam the blessed feet of him who protects this meritorious foundation (are) on my head. This is for as long as the sun and moon shall last.

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1. Should be ā.
2. Indistinct.
3. Indistinct. The last two lines should run melana/idu Candrādittaval.
4. Pallāpuram (Pallavaram near Madras) is in Curattūrnāḍu S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 111, f.n. 3.
5. There is a Nayadhīramaṅgalam in Piḍavūr nāḍu(S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 326, 338. The name appears to take after the biruda or title of a king.

THE KĀLIKĀ (UPA)PURĀṆA

BY

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An attempt is made here to present the problems relating to the textual material of the Kālikopapurāṇa or simply the Kālikāpurāṇa (K. P.), as a preliminary to a summary of the contents of the K. P. On I, p. 98-b, Aufrecht's C. C. records some mss. of the K. P., but here the entry L. 370, as shown by Mitra's extracts and notes, is a ms. of a different text which is mentioned by Mitra as the Caṇḍīpurāṇa. From Eggeling's IO. catalogue, we know of still another text called Kālikāpurāṇa or Satīpurāṇa. On p. 22 of Pt. III of his C. C., Aufrecht notes this latter, different text. There are thus three texts, the first known as the Kālikāpurāṇa and represented by most of the mss. bearing that name, the second named the Caṇḍīpurāṇa represented by L. 370 and the third styled by the names Kālikāpurāṇa and Satīpurāṇa and represented by IO. 3344.

In print, we have the K. P., published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, in 1907. IO., Eggeling, p. 1191-a, notes a Bombay edition of this same text in1891, and besides, these, there is a Bengali edition of 1910. These three books present the same text which is the first of the three texts noticed in the previous paragraph. There is of course a difference in the number of chapters. The Veṅk. edn. has 93 chs.; the Bengali edn. has 90 chs.; the Bombay edn. of 1891 has 93; IO. 3339 has 90; Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library, D. no. 2342 has only 90; No. 901 in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has also only 90 chs.; the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal ms. No. 10565, going up to ch. 91 of the text of the Veṅk. edn., must be a text of 93 chs. This slight difference of three chapters is due to difference in chaptering, one chapter being split into two sometimes, as Eggeling has pointed out. No ms. contains more than 93 chs., but Wilson says in his Introduction to his translation of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, that the ms. of the Kālikā he had, ran to 98 chs.

The earliest notice of the nature of the Kālikāpurāṇa (K.P.) is the translation of the chapter, (71, Venk. edn.), called Balidānavivaraṇa or the Rudhirādhyāya by W. C. Blaquiere in Asiatick Researches, Vol. V, 1807. Wilson then gave a brief indication of the contents of this K. P. in the Introduction to his translation of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, pp. lxxxvii—xc. The K. P. being cited frequently in Smṛti nibandhas after a certain time, has been noticed by Mr. P. V. Kane in his History of Dharmaśāstra, I. Other notices of the K. P. are all scrappy till we come to Mr. P. K. Gode's paper on the date of the Kālikāpurāṇa, published in Vol. X (pp. 289—294) of this Journal. In this paper, Mr. Gode pushed the later limit to the date of the K. P. to 1000 A. D. on the basis of a reference supplied by me (*ibid.*, p. 293). In a paper contributed to the Woolner Commemoration Volume, yet to be published, I have drawn attention to the indebtedness of the text of the K.P. to Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava as also to Māgha's Śiśupālavadha, which study, by the way, furnishes the earlier limit to the date of the K. P. as A. D. 700. This study was followed up by me with the preparation of a summary of the contents of the K. P. as available in the Veṅk. edn. This summary is published here.

The K. P. and Smṛti Nibandhas.

It has been pointed out that Dharma śāstra nibandhas after a certain time begin to quote the K. P. frequently. Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi quotes it a number of times, and earlier, Śrīdatta cites it twice in his Ācārādarśa. Prof. K. V. Rangasvami Aiyangar drew my attention to the many citations of the K. P. in the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara, which Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar is editing. He also kindly allowed his press-copies of some of the kāṇḍas of the Kalpataru to be examined by me. Of the Nibandhas now known, the Kalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara is the earliest to utilize the K. P. Of the Kalpataru, I could not examine the Vrata, Gṛhastha, Naiyatakāla, Dāna and Pūjā kāṇḍas; evidently the many excerpts from the K. P. in Hemādri's Vratakhaṇḍa and Dānakhaṇḍa are based on Lakṣmīdhara's citations of the K. P. in his Vrata and Dāna kāṇḍas. The Pūjāprakāśa of the Vīramitrodaya (Chowk. edn.), p. 226ff. contains long quotations from the K. P. on Mahāsnāna, Ghṛtadhāra and Śivajāgara, which, again, are evidently based on Lakṣmīdhara's citations of those passages in his Pūjākāṇḍa.

Of the remaining kāṇḍas of the Kalpataru, Rājadharma, Mokṣa, Pratiṣṭhā and Śrāddha do not cite the K. P. The six quotations in the Vyavahārakāṇḍa cannot be present in the K. P. of the Veṅk. edn., since that text does not contain any portion dealing with Vyavahāra. The Brahmacārikāṇḍa quotes two verses of the K. P. on Iṣṭāpūrta, reproduced in the Vīramitrodaya also. The Śāntikāṇḍa contains a long quotation from the K. P. on Rudrajapavidhi in which the interlocutors figuring are Sanaka, Sanatkumāra aud Kāvyakūṭa(?). There is a single citation in the Śuddhikāṇḍa which is the same as the first passage cited in the Ācārādarśa (p. 17-a, Veṅk. edn. Śaka. 1826), and which is also cited in the Aparārka, p. 924 (Ānandāśrama edn.). The Tīrtha kāṇḍa has a citation from the K. P. bearing on Bhṛgupatana at a certain holy spot.

None of these citations can be traced to the text of the K. P. available to us in print. The text of the K. P. presupposed by these extracts must be a very much more extensive one, dealing at greater length with Dharma. The sages Sanaka and Sanatkumāra figuring in the extract in the Śāntikāṇḍa of the Kalpataru are absent in the available K. P. In the citations in Hemādri's Vratakhaṇḍa, the interlocutors are sages Tṛṇabindu and Anilāda, both absent in the available K. P.

The second citation in the Ācārādarśa (p. 50-a); the two quotations in the Madanapārijāta (Bib. Ind.), pp. 90 and 228 on the time (caturdaśī) unsuited for Vedic study and on Vaiśyavṛtti; Aparārka, p. 15, K.P. on enslaving others by applying a collyrium to one's eyes, p. 226, K. P. on the sin of entering temples with shoes, and p. 377, K. P. on Naiveśikadāna (found also is Dāna Hemādri); Anantadeva, Rājadharma Kaustubha (GOS.), p. 408 on Divyamātṛkā; Vīramitrodaya, Rājanīti, p. 30, K. P. praising the king and p. 225, K. P. on Dattaputras; quotations in Hemādri, Pariśeṣakhaṇḍa—these are not traceable in the available K. P. But we are not able to decide from this fact that the K. P. available to us is altogether different; for, some of the Smṛti-compilers' citations are to be found in our K. P., though these belong to works of later writers. Vīramitrodaya, Saṁskāra, p. 212, K. P. on the necessity of Putra is found in our text of the K. P., at the end of the story of Vetāla and Bhairava. The Śuddhikaumudī and the Śrāddhakrīyākaumudī of Govindānanda (Bib. Ind.) cites texts from the K. P. found in the Veṅk.

edn. Śuddhi, p. 246, on Durgotsava, p. 313, on the several kinds of damaged cloth unfit for offering; Śrāddha, p. 145 on Dīpas and p. 13 on the two kinds of Vārdhīṇasa are to be found in the Veṅk. edn. (ch. 62; ch. 73, śls. 2-3; ch. 73; ch. 71, śls. 16-17). But the Śuddhikaumudī's long citation from the K. P. on days and acts of pollution debarring worship of Devī, and two citations in the Śrāddhakriyākaumudī, pp. 105 and 356, on pollution and spots unfit for rites are not found in the Veṅk. edn. The quotations on pp. 35, 63, 86, 88 and 99 of Nandapaṇḍita's Navarātrapradīpa (Princess of Wales Sar. Bha. Texts, 23) are found in the Veṅk. edn. of the K. P.

Attention has been drawn by Mr. Kane[1] to the fact that some of the Smṛti-nibandhakāras like Anantadeva and Nīlakaṇṭha[2] themselves noted the circumstance, *viz.*, the absence of the texts on adoption said to be from K. P. from the majority of the K. P. mss. Did we have, therefore, a longer text of the K. P.?

It was noted that in the passage from the K. P. cited by Lakṣmīdhara in his Śāntikāṇḍa, Sanatkumāra figures as an interlocutor. This characteristic pertains to the Caṇḍīpurāṇa described under L. 370. It was pointed out that citations in Vrata Hemādri show sages Anilāda and Tṛṇabindu as interlocutors and this characteristic pertains to the Kālikā or Satīpurāṇa under IO. 3344. IO. 3344 is evidently incomplete and so we are not able to verify if the topics on which K. P. is quoted by Lakṣmīdhara and others, are dealt with in it. Is it probable that when these Nibandhakāras refer to K. P., they mean all these three texts?

In Ch. 20, śls. 42-43 and 51-52 of the K. P., Veṅk. edn., two texts are cited, the first from the *Nītiśāstra* given by *Brahmā to his son* and the second from *Dakṣa's Dharmaśāstra* given to *Nārada*. The latter, I tired to trace in Smṛtis ascribed to Dakṣa and Nārada and did not succeed.

The K. P. and Nānyadeva's Bharata Bhāṣya.

Lakṣmīdhara wrote under Govindacandra of Kanoj, 1104—1155 A. D. Nānyadeva who cites the K. P. in his Bharata

1. Hist. Dha. Śās. I, p. 448.

2. Vya. Mayūkha, Kane's edn., p. 114. For other Smṛti-nibandhas citing the K. P., *see* Kane. Hist. Dha. Śās. I and Kane, Vyavahāra-mayūkha.

Bhāṣya ruled between 1097 and 1133 A. D. and was thus slightly earlier. The reference to the K. P. in Nānya's work occurs on p. 132-a of the BORI. Ms., and on p. 298 of its Madras transcript (Madras Govt. Ori. Lib. R. 5598).

"इति गो(रो)विन्दकं समाप्तम् । कालिकाख्यपुराणे यत् पुराणे (ण)पुरुषेरितम् । रोविन्दकाभिधं गीतं (प्रोक्तं) नान्यमहीभुजा ॥"

To what text does this refer ? The Veṅk. edn. of the K. P. does not deal with or contain the Gīta called Rovindaka. Could this Gīta be in a longer text of the K. P. or in the Caṇḍīpurāṇa (L. 370) or the Satīpurāṇa (IO. 3344)? When I examined the text of the Bharata Bhāṣya itself, I found that on p. 296 (Madras transcript), Nānya begins the description of the Rovindaka and on p. 295, he illustrates it by a music composition beginning

'शण्डं शण्डं जगपति शण्डं * * सोमयज्ञाङ्गयज्ञपरिपठिततनुं हविर्हव्यहोम etc.'

This song with its musical treatment goes up to p. 298, at the end of which, Nānya says that the above song belongs to the Kālikā-purāṇa. *But when he begins the song on p. 295, he gives the source as the Bhagavatīpurāṇa.*

"उदाहरणं यथा भगवतीपुराणे—शण्डं शण्डं etc."

What is this Bhagavatīpurāṇa and is it the same as our K. P. in a larger version, or is it IO. 3344 or L. 370, or a text different from all these?

Some of the minor noteworthy subjects of the K. P.

A summary of the contents of the K. P. as available in the Veṅk. edn. was prepared because of the interest of the text as a Tāntrik authority for Śāktas, and because of the numerous other topics of interest which a purāṇic compilation would abound in. It is possible to mention here only some of these other topics of interest: Birth of Kāma in ch. I. Birth of the 49 Bhāvas, the Hāvas and the 64 arts from Brahmā and Sandhyā in ch. 2. Birth of Agniṣvāttāḥ, Barhiṣadaḥ and others of this group in ch. 2. Birth of Rati in ch. 2. Birth of Spring (Vasanta) from Brahmā's sigh in ch. 3. Birth of 'Māras', the forces of Kāma, in ch. 6. The Nāṭakeśvara or Nāṭakaśaila, a part of the Himālayas where Śiva's dances take place, ch. 7, śl. 14 and ch. 53.

12 Vratas which Satī observes to propitiate Śiva in ch. 9, which, somehow, are not noted by the Smṛti nibandhakāras. Story of how the deluge-clouds were born in ch. 11. The Vijayā whom we meet in Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava as a companion of Pārvatī is Satī's own sister's daughter—ch. 16. Origin of the river in the hades, the Vaitaraṇī in ch. 18. Story of how some stars became malevolent in ch. 20. 1008 sacrifices and the account of which sacrifice rose from which part of the Yajñavarāha's body in ch. 32. Description of the Kapāla Bhairava sect in ch. 36. The birth of Pārvatī was on Vasanta Navamī, at midnight—ch. 42. Her marriage with Śiva was on Vaiśākha Śukla pañcamī, Guruvāra—ch. 46. Dance, music and enjoyments during Durgā mahotsava in chs. 62 and 63. The Śābara utsava which marks the Vijayadaśamī day—chs. 62 and 63. Obscene sexual talks and pranks indulged in the Visarjana-celebration of the Durgā mahotsava, ch. 63. A story of the origins of mountains in ch. 64. Ch. 72, several kinds of wood and wooden seats; clothing in different materials. Ch. 73, kinds of clothing-material and varieties of stitched and unstitched clothing. Ch. 73, śls. 16 ff. 40 kinds of ornaments. Ch. 73, śls. 37 ff. Gandha- 5 kinds of perfume. Ch. 73, śls. 40 ff. kinds of incense. Chs. 87-91, sage Aurva's discourse to king Sagara on Rājanīti and Rājadharma. Ch. 90, same discourse, the festival of India's banner. A strange story of the origin of cattle in Ch. 93.

It is neither necessary nor possible to indicate even briefly here, in this introduction, the particulars of the rich Śākta-material lying in the K. P. which can be known from the summary. The K.P. is a purāṇa of East Bengal and Assam, the only other place on the greatness of which the K. P. expatiates being the region of the Candrabhāgā river (in the Puñjāb). The bigger stories in digression are: Arundhatī-Vasiṣṭha, Chs. 19-23. Candra's life, marriage with the stars, getting Rājayakṣmā etc., Chs. 20-22. Varāha-avtāra story, Chs. 25-32; Kūrma-avatāra, Chs. 28 and 35; Matsya-avatāra, Chs. 33-34. Story of Narakāsura with the sub-story of Bāṇāsura, Chs. 37-41.

The K. P. contains some good prayers to Yogamāyā or Kāli, Śiva and Viṣṇu. The following are on Yogamāyā or Devī:

Ch. 5, śls. 15-50, 55-63;
" 8, " 12-27.

Ch. 24, śls. 9-27.
„ 28, „ 32-40.
„ 42, „ 19-28.
„ 80, „ 96-103 (in an irregular metre).

Prayers to Śiva: Ch. 18, Śls. 56-68; Ch. 46, Śls. 14-18; Ch. 47, Śls. 86-100.

Prayers to Viṣṇu: Ch. 22, Śls. 52-70; Ch. 31, Śls. 4-17.

The Literature known to the K. P.

As mentioned previously, I have drawn attention elsewhere to the fact that the K. P. has utilised Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava and Māgha's Śiśupālavadha. In the discourse of sage Aurva to king Sagara on Rājanīti and Rājadharma, the K. P. expressly mentions the works of Śukra and Bṛhaspati on Rājanīti, at the end of Ch. 87, and bases its account of the Indradhvaja festival and the Viṣṇu-iṣṭi to be conducted by the king on the Viṣṇu-dharmottara which it twice mentions in Chs. 91 (Śl. 70) and 92 (Śl. 2), as containing the sage's own previous discourses on these subjects.

Besides these texts, the K. P. must have known a Nītiśāstra ascribed to Brahman and a Dharmaśāstra ascribed to Dakṣa or Nārada, as has already been pointed out above.

The other works known to the K. P. refer to the Tāntrik branch, and are mentioned in the portion dealing with Devī-worship beginning with Ch. 54.

(*i*) The *Śivāmṛta*: In Ch. 54, Śls. 4-5 (quoted in the summary below), the K. P. refers to a work on Mahāmāyā-worship called *Śivāmṛta*, in 18 Paṭalas, compiled by Bhairava from the teachings he received from Śiva.

(*ii*) The *Vaiṣṇavatantra*, *Durgātantra*, *Tripurātantra*, and *Uttaratantra*. These expressions occur in this section on Devī-worship; the first name occurs frequently. Are these names of works or only names of different techniques of worship? The *Uttaratantra* at least sounds like a work-name.

Whole chapters from Bhairava's work seem to have been incorporated into the K.P. For, though according to the Purāṇa's story, Śiva must address both Bhairava and Vetāla, Bhairava alone is addressed in the verses in these sections. Further, one of the chapter-colophons of the K. P. is a colophon in part of the original:

Ch: 54: इति श्रीकालिकापुराणे महामायाकल्पे अष्टादशपटले चतुः-पञ्चाशत्तमोऽध्यायः ।

References to a Bhairavatantra are many, but I am not able to fix the text which the K. P. has used here.

A SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE KĀLIKĀPURĀṆA[1].

Ch. 1. Śl. 1. Obeisance to Hari (Vasantatilakā); Śl. 2. do to Māyā (Vasantatilakā); Śl. 3. do to Ādya Puruṣa (Anuṣṭubhs from this). Kamaṭha and other sages ask Mārkaṇḍeya to relate to them how Kālī, of yore, captivated the heart of Śiva who had become a Yogin; how Satī was born of Dakṣa, how She abandoned her body as Satī and incarnated Herself as the daughter of Himavān, and finally claimed half of the body of Śiva.

Mārkaṇḍeya begins the narration: He says that the story of these incidents was of yore handed down from Brahmā to Nārada, from Nārada to the Vālakhilyas, from them to sage Yavakrīta, from him to Asita and from Asita to himself, Mārkaṇḍeya.

Mārkaṇḍeya's obeisance to Hari; description of Hari, the prime Puruṣa whom Brahmā propitiated and with whose grace, Brahmā created the beings, through Dakṣa and other Prajāpatis. Brahmā created also the sages, his mind-born sons, ten in number: Marīci, Atri, Pulaha, Aṅgirasa, Kratu, Pulastya, Vasiṣṭha, Nārada, Pracetas, Bhṛgu. The eleventh He created from His mind was Sandhyā, the evening Sandhyā, referred to as Jayantikā (सायंसन्ध्या जयन्तिका). Description of her beauty.

Then Brahmā wondered what He could do with her. Next moment another beautiful person, this time a male, issued out of Brahmā's mind. This was Kāma. Description of his beauty. Brahmā assigned him the duty of making all living beings, including the lesser and the greater gods like Himself, slaves of his flowery shafts of love.

Ends Ch. 1 called the birth of Kāma.

Ch. 2. The sages and the Prajāpatis give Love the names of Manmatha, Kāma, Madana, Darpaka, Kandarpa and give his arrows power over everything and everybody.

They give the first-born woman also the name Sandhyā.

1. Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press Edn.

After thinking for a while, Kāma tries his arrows on Dakṣa and Sandhyā. He draws his bow, standing in Ālīḍha pose and throws the hearts of everybody there, upto Brahmā, into the thraldom of love towards Sandhyā.

When Brahmā is giving expression to his love, there arise out of Him, the 49 Bhāvas, Bibboka and other Hāvas; and the 64 arts now arise out of Sandhyā who is also under the influence of Kāma. Brahmā and others begin to pay definite attention to Sandhyā. All this, Śiva sees from above and laughs aloud. Śiva deprecates Brahmā and the sages and the Prajāpatis for succumbing to love, and that towards a daughter (in the case of Brahmā) and a sister (in the case of others). He reviles Kāma also who was given power only some minutes back and who had used it against the wrong persons. Ashamed on hearing Śiva speak thus, Brahmā controls Himself. Brahmā perspires now profusely and out of the perspiration rise Agniṣvāttas, Barhiṣads and the Pitṛgaṇas, dark in colour and with lotus-like eyes, permanent Yatis averse to Saṁsāra. Agniṣvāttas 64,000, Barhiṣads 86,000.

Of the perspiration that fell down from Dakṣa's limbs, a damsel is born. Marīci and six others control themselves; but of the perspiration of the rest, Pitṛgaṇas, Somapas, Ājyapas, Svakālins, Havirbhuks, and Kayvavāhas are born. Somapas are born of Kratu; Svakālins of Vasiṣṭha; Ājyapas of Pulastya; Haviṣmats of Aṅgiras.

Thus, in a way, the Pitṛs become sons of Sandhyā.

In the shame caused by Śiva's words, Brahmā becomes angry towards Manmatha, though Manmatha has already withdrawn his arrows in his fear of Brahmā and Śiva.

Here ends Ch. 2.

Ch. 3. Brahmā curses Manmatha: "Since you made me ridiculous before the eyes of Śiva, you shall perish in the fire of Śiva's third eye, by similarly trying your valour on Him." On Kāma's entreaty, Brahmā tells Manmatha, that out of his own ashes, he will rise again by the grace of the same Śiva, when Śiva marries. Brahmā and Śiva disappear.

The excellent damsel born of Dakṣa's perspiration is Rati whom Dakṣa gives in marriage to Kāma. Description of Rati.[1] Kāma thinks that with her aid, he could infatuate even Śiva.

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1. Metrically and rhetorically, there is in general a poet's finish in all the passages of this Upapurāṇa.

Ch. 3 ends with a Mālinī verse.

Ch. 4. Ever since Śiva pulled Him up, Brahmā was feeling the humiliation and was thinking of a way to make the Yogin Śiva succumb to the charms of a woman. He asks Kāma to follow Śiva wherever He goes and enslave Him by bonds of love. But Kāma asks Brahmā to point out the woman on whom he could make Śiva dote. Brahmā sinks into thought and sighs. Out of His sigh arises the spring (Vasanta Ṛtu). Description of Vasanta. Brahmā gives Vasanta to Kāma as his constant companion and help. Brahmā blesses also that Śṛṅgāra and its Bhāvas, Bimboka and other Hāvas and the 64 arts shall aid Kāma and Rati (Śls. 36-37). Then Brahmā sends Kāma, Rati and Vasanta after Śiva and confers with Dakṣa to create a woman.

Ch. 4 ends here.

Ch. 5. Brahmā says that only Viṣṇumāyā is powerful enough to attract Śiva, that he would pray to Her and that Dakṣa should propitiate Her and request Her to become Dakṣa's daughter and Śiva's wife. Dakṣa agrees; Marīci and others approve of this. Dakṣa begins penance on the coast of the milk-ocean to see Mahāmāyā. Brahmā prays to Her from Mandaragiri. The prayer, Śls. 15-50. She manifests Herslf to Brahmā, swarthy, beautiful, four-armed, mounted on a lion, with sword and lily in her hands and with untied locks of hair. Again Brahmā sings Her praise, Śls. 55-60. Brahmā tells Her the purpose of His penance and requests Her to incarnate Herself as some woman to captivate the heart of Śiva who is a Yogin and is averse to the path of Sṛṣṭi. The continuation of Sṛṣṭi is given as one of the motives by Brahmā. Ch. 5 ends here.

Ch. 6. The Goddess promises to be born as Dakṣa's daughter to entrance Śiva and disappears. Brahmā meets Kāma on the way and informs him how he has made Māyā consent to be born as a woman to captivate Śiva. On Manmatha's query, Brahmā is about to expatiate on the greatness of Mahāmāyā. But before He begins to do that, he sighs frequently. Out of his sighs arise armies of animals, animal-like beings and warriors with missiles. They shout "kill, kill." Brahmā hence gives them the name 'Māra' and gives them to Manmatha as his forces.

Then Brahmā begins the Māhātmya of Yogamāyā. Śls. 61-74. Ch. 6 ends here.

Ch. 7. Brahmā continues his talk with Manmatha: 'Soon Yogamāyā will be born as Dakṣa's daughter. You continue your work by following Śiva wherever He goes.' Kāma now relates what Śiva does and what he (Kāma) had done with Him up to that time. Kāma had been using all his shafts and all his power. Among the mountains to which Śiva goes like Meru and Kailāsa, Manmatha mentions one named Nāṭakeśvara (Sl. 14.) Manmatha says that he made the birds and animals in the places where Śiva stayed become amorous, and Madhu (Spring) made even trees and creepers feel love. None of these could disturb Śiva. Kāma adds that, with Dakṣa's daughter and the newly created army, he could attempt again.

Ch. 7 ends here.

Ch. 8. Kāma goes to Śiva's place. Dakṣa in penance sees Māyā or Kālī. Dakṣa's stotra on Kālī, Śls. 12-27. She promises to become his daughter to captivate Śiva's heart. She adds that the moment Dakṣa slights Her, She would leave the body.

Dakṣa begets a number of sons, who, by Nārada's Upadeśa, become Viraktas. Dakṣa then marries Vīraṇī, daughter of Vīraṇa; she is otherwise called Asiknī also. Of the *Saṅkalpa* of the two is born Satī. A stotra on Māyā.

Even as a child, Satī shows Her love for Śiva; draws His picture and sings His praise. Nārada one day visits Satī and Dakṣa, and blesses Satī that she would marry Śiva.

Ch. 8 ends here.

Ch. 9. Satī attains youth and worships Śiva. The worships of Śiva:—

(i) In Āśvina, on the day called Nandaka, with Lavaṇānna and Guḍānna.

(ii) In Kārtika, caturdaśī, with Apūpa and Pāyasa.

(iii) In Mārgaśīrṣa, kṛṣṇāṣṭamī with Yavodana.

(iv) In Pauṣa, kṛṣṇa saptamī with Kṛsarānna in the early morning after waking through the whole night.

(v) In Māgha, paurṇamāsī, similar waking up during the night and worship of Śiva on the river-bank, after bath and in wet clothes.

(vi) In Phālguṇa, kṛṣṇapakṣa caturdaśī—Jāgaraṇa—Bilvārcana.

(vii) In Caitra, śukla caturdaśī, worship during day and night with Palāśa flowers.

(viii) In Vaiśākha, śukla tṛtīyā, sustaining herself the whole month only on milk, worships Śiva with Yavodana.

(ix) In Jyeṣṭha, śukla pūrṇimārātri—fast and worship with offer of clothes and Bṛhatī flowers.

(x) In Āṣāḍha, śukla caturdaśī, worship with Bṛhatī flowers.

(xi) In Śrāvaṇa. kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī and caturdaśī—worship with offer of pure yajñopavīta and clothes.

(xii) In Bhādrapada, trayodaśī and caturdaśī—fast and worship, with fruit-food on the latter day.

When Satī finishes this round of Vratas of Śiva for a year, Brahmā and Viṣṇu go to Śiva with their consorts. Brahmā explains the purpose of their visit; Brahmā persuades Śiva to marry. Śiva asks if there is a woman suitable to His yogic nature. Brahmā mentions Satī, daughter of Dakṣa. Hari joins Brahmā in the plea. Śiva consents and the two leave Him. Kāma overhears this conversation and is glad.

Ch. 9 ends here.

Ch. 10. Satī performed once again the Nandā vrata in Āśvina śukla aṣṭamī, fasting and worshipping Śiva. At the end of the Vrata, Śiva appears before Her. Manmatha now makes the two infatuated mutually, with his arrows Harṣaṇa and Mohana. Śiva grants Satī's request to become His wife. Satī wants Śiva to arrange the marriage through Her father Dakṣa and goes away to Her mother. Śiva returns to His place, calls forth Brahmā and entrusts Him with the further work of arranging the marriage. Brahmā meets Dakṣa and arranges the marriage. Nārada and other sages arrive.

Ch. 10 ends here.

Ch. 11. Śiva, Brahmā, Nārada and other sages and gods arrive in Dakṣa's house for Śiva's marriage. The marriage takes place. Viṣṇu also arrives then. Brahmā sees Satī and becomes stricken with love; His Tejas falls on the ground and from this Tejas of Brahmā are born the thundering clouds, Samvarta, Āvarta, Puṣkara and Droṇa. Śiva who sees Brahmā's misbehaviour, becomes angry, and rushes at Him with the trident to kill Brahmā. The sages and Dakṣa try to pacify Śiva; Viṣṇu interferes and points out that Śiva, Himself and Brahmā are identical and hence, Śiva should not kill Brahmā. Viṣṇu's expatiation on

the ultimate oneness of the three deities. Śiva desists from killing Brahmā.

Ch. 11 ends here.

Ch. 12—Ch. 13. The elaboration of this oneness of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā. Description of creation; the manifestation of the trinity, their exploits etc. At the end, repetition of the oneness of the three and a plea to Śiva to excuse Brahmā; and Śiva excuses.

Ch. 14. Śiva returns to Himavatprastha with Satī; sends away the gods; then asks His gaṇas to retire and present themselves whenever Śiva thinks of them. The gaṇas retire to Mahākośīprapāta. Śiva and Satī live in happiness. From there, the two go to the Mahākośīprapāta and spend the time happily. Spring manifests itself and Kāma arrives there. A fine description of the Spring. Śiva thus spends 24 years.

Ch. 14 ends here with a Mālinī.

Ch. 15. The rains; a fine description of the rainy season by Satī. Desire to live in a rainless region. Śiva suggests Meru or Kailāsa, places above the clouds. Descriptions of Meru and Kailāsa. Satī prefers Kailāsa. There are some Upajātis and one Vasantatilaka in this chapter.

Ch. 15 ends here.

Ch. 16. In Kailāsa, Śiva sported with Satī 10,000 years according to gods' calculation. The two moved from place to place, one peak to another in the Himālayas, Meru, the gardens of Indra, Agni etc. and Earth.

Dakṣa now conducts a large sacrifice to which he invites everybody except Śiva and Satī. Description of Dakṣa's Yajña. Some Upajātis. Satī is enraged at the wanton insult offered by Her father and, remembering Her previous word to Dakṣa that she would cease to be his daughter when he insults Her, She gives up Her life as Satī by yoga (Prāṇa sphoṭa). Before giving up Her life, she decides to be born as the daughter of Menā and Himavān, to marry Śiva again.

Satī's sister's daughter, Vijayā, weeps over Satī's body.

Ch. 16, called Satī dehatyāga, ends here.

Ch. 17. Śiva returns after Sandhyā-worship in Mānasa lake and learns the circumstances under which Satī gave up Her life. Enraged, Śiva rushes to where Dakṣa performs his sacrifice; Śiva sends Vīrabhadra with some Gaṇas to destroy the sacrifice.

Seeing Viṣṇu preventing Vīrabhadra, Śiva Himself enters. He plucks the eyes of Bhaga and shatters the teeth of Sun. Sacrifice (yajña) now takes a deer-form and escapes into Brahmā's world; Śiva pursues it; it runs and enters the corpse of Satī. On approaching Satī's corpse, Śiva forgets yajña and begins to weep over Satī's body. Last verse in Mālinī.

Ch. 17 ends here.

Ch. 18. When Śiva is weeping over Satī's body, Kāma, coming there with Rati, shoots Him with his shafts and makes Śiva mad and rave out 'Satī, Satī'. Tears pour down from Śiva's eyes in floods, and fearing that earth would burst, the gods, Brahmā and others pray to Śanaiścara. A prayer on Śanaiścara, Śls. 13-16. Śanaiścara once stopped the clouds from pouring down and so is now asked to hold up Śiva's tears. To prevent Śiva from burning down Śanaiścara, the gods throw a Māyā over Śiva. Śanaiścara holds Śiva's tears for a time and then deposits them in the mountain called Jaladhāraka. But the Jaladhāraka splits and the river of Śiva's tears flow down to the sea from where it reaches finally Yama's place and runs there as the Vaitaraṇī.

Śiva, unable to bear His sorrow, lifts up Satī's body on His shoulders and goes to the eastern provinces. Seeing Śiva walking like this in madness, the gods who want Him to be relieved of Satī's corpse, enter Satī's body through Māyā, render it into pieces and make the pieces fall at certain parts of the country, for the welfare of the world.

At	Devīkūṭa	fell the	feet;
,,	Uḍḍiyāna	,, ,,	thighs;
,,	Kāmarūpa, on Kāmagiri	,, ,,	yoni;
,,	the same place towards the east	,, ,,	navel;
,,	Jālandhara	,, ,,	breasts;
,,	Pūrṇagiri beyond Kāmarūpa	,, ,,	shoulders and neck.

The country traversed by Śiva bearing Satī's corpse becomes Yājñikadeśa. Further bits of Satī's body are blown by wind to the heavenly Ganges. At each place where a part of Satī's body falls, Śiva establishes Himself in Liṅga-form. And at all these places, Brahmā and others worship Satī.

The Goddess at	Devīkūṭa	is called	Mahābhāgā.
,,	Uḍḍiyāna	,,	Kātyāyanī.
,,	Kāmarūpa	,,	Kāmākhyā.
,,	Pūrṇagiri	,,	Pūrṇeśvarī.
,,	Jālandhara	,,	Caṇḍī.
,,	the eastern border of Kāmarūpa	,,	Dikkaravāsinī and Lalitakāntā.

At the place where Satī's head falls, Śiva sits down to weep; the gods approach to console Him but, ashamed to be seen by them in that state, Śiva transforms Himself at that very place into a stone Liṅga. Brahmā and others extol that Śiva-liṅga. A Śiva stotra, verses 56-68. On hearing this stotra, Śiva rises out of the Liṅga, but still in sorrow. Brahmā again extols Him (longer metres are employed here) and requests Him to overcome the sorrow for the sake of the world which will not stand Śiva's grief. Brahmā consoles Śiva that Satī will be born again after a 100 divine years, at the beginning of the Tretāyuga, to marry Śiva again. Śiva asks Brahmā to keep Him company till He is able to be free of His grief fully. Both Śiva and Brahmā go to Kailāsa. From there, with other gods joining them, they go to another part of the Himālayas, Oṣadhiprastha, the capital of Himavān, where the latter receives them. Unfortunately Śiva meets Vijayā there, and Vijayā begins to weep for Satī's death.

Ch. 18 ends here.

Ch. 19. Śiva's grief is aroused, but Brahmā again points out to Śiva the impropriety of His grief. (Longer metres here.) From Himavān's capital, Brahmā takes Śiva to the solitude of the lake Śiprā in the east, from which arises river Śiprā falling into the ocean in the South. A fine description of Śiprā, reminding one of the description of Pampā, in Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa.

A digression here on lake Śiprā and the river Śiprā. The waters which the gods sprinkled on the couple when Vasiṣṭha married Arundhatī collected into the Śiprā lake, the god's favourite bath, and when the waters became too much, Viṣṇu let them out as the Śiprā river, holy like the Ganges. Bathing during the whole of Kārttika in it is very meritorious. A bath in it on Kārtika paurṇamāsī is of untold merit.

A second digression into how Vasiṣṭha married Arundhatī. It is Brahmā's mind-born daughter Sandhyā who became

Arundhatī and chose Vasiṣṭha as her husband. When tempted by Kāma, Brahmā forgot that she was his own daughter, and her brothers, the sages also forgot that she was their sister, Sandhyā felt greatly ashamed and desired to give up that body. She wanted to expiate her own sin, for she too felt the evil effect of Kāma's shaft; she desired to do penance so that none in future fell prey to love soon after birth. She repaired to the Candrabhāga hill for doing this penance.

Here ends Ch. 19.

Ch. 20. Brahmā now asked his son Vasiṣṭha to meet Sandhyā and dissuade her from the penance. Vasiṣṭha proceeds to Candrabhāga as a Brahmacārin. He saw there a lake called Bṛhallohita and Sandhyā in penance on its bank. From that lake and mountain flowed westwards river Candrabhāgā towards the sea in the South.

A digression into how the river Candrabhāgā began to flow, (śl. 17 ff.) how the lake Bṛhallohita was formed and why the hill came to be called Candrabhāga. Since Pitāmaha apportioned (Bhāga) Candra as food for Devas and Pitṛs on that hill, the hill took the name Candrabhāga. The story of this is then set forth in detail.

Dakṣa gave his daughters, the 27 stars, Aśvinī etc., as wives to Candra, but Candra spent his time only with one of them, Rohiṇī. At this, the other 26 star-wives grew angry and accused Candra of the sin of abandoning legally wedded wives. The 26 stars point out that for the sake of the happiness of many, one, *viz.*, Rohiṇī, could be killed, and that there was the authority of Brahmā for it.

> यस्मिन्नर्थे पुरा ब्रह्मा व्याजहार सुतं प्रति ।
> नीतिशास्त्रोपदेशाय तन्नः संश्रुतमस्ति वै ॥
> एकस्य यत्र निधने प्रवृत्ते दुष्टकारिणः ।
> बहूनां भवति क्षेमं तस्य पुण्यप्रदो वधः ॥ 42-43.

But Candra saved Rohiṇī from the 26 sisters. The stars accused Candra of sinful neglect of virtuous wives with a Smṛti-text, given by Dakṣa to Nārada:—

> गदतो यच्छुतं पूर्वं नारदाय पितुर्मुखात् ।
> दक्षस्य धर्मशास्त्रार्थं तच्छृणुष्व निशापते ॥

बहुदारः पुमान् यस्तु रागादेकां भजेत् स्त्रियम् ।
स पापभाक् स्त्रीजितश्च तस्य (स्या ?) शौचं सनातनम् ॥ 51-52.

and so on. The authority cited goes up to verse 61. On hearing this harsh outspoken criticism, Candra cursed Kṛttikā and the two next stars to become malevolent and Kṛttikā and the other eight Uttaraphalgunī, Bharaṇī, Ārdrā, Maghā, Viśākhā, Uttarabhādrapada, Jyeṣṭhā and Uttarāṣāḍhā as unsuited stars for starting on a journey, yātrā. The 26 stars then reported the matter to their father Dakṣa. Dakṣa thrice warned Candra of the sin of neglecting his other wives, and when he found Candra still resorting only to Rohiṇī, Dakṣa grew enraged. Out of Dakṣa's nostrils issued forth the malady called Yakṣmā which Dakṣa directed towards Candra so that Candra might be eaten up day by day. This disease is called Rājayakṣmā since its first victim was Rājā, moon. Kṣaya caught the moon; and when the moon began waning, herbs began failing and consequently sacrifices were hindered. Starvation seized the gods when sacrifices stopped. Rains failed as a result of this and famine descended on earth. In the famine, Dharma began to disappear and evil increased. Unable to understand this cosmic disturbance, the gods sought Brahmā who informed them of how and why Dakṣa cursed Candra.

Here ends Ch. 20.

Ch. 21. On Brahmā's advice, the gods sought and prayed to Dakṣa who said that if Candra would become impartial to all his wives, Candra could wax half a month, though waning for the rest of the days. The gods carried this message to Brahmā. Brahmā with all the gods including Candra went to Candrabhāga hill and did ablution in lake Bṛhallohita. The lake possessed medicinal water and Candra was freed from Yakṣmā after a bath in it. Brahmā restored the lost digits (Kalās) to the moon. The Rājayakṣmā now asked Brahmā to assign an abode for its stay. Brahmā assigned the following persons as legitimate victims for Yakṣmā, *viz.*, those who during day, twilight and night cohabit with women. Candra was still weak, and to give him the necessary tonic, Brahmā assigned to him a portion of the Puroḍāśa of the sacrifices, next to the shares of Prajāpati, Indra and Agni. Brahmā further assured Candra that his body would attain its previous perfection at the end of the next great churning of the milk-ocean. Meantime, Candra will wax and wane. Detailed

arrangements for this waxing and waning were then made. One of the 16 digits was given to Śiva who placed it on his head. From this Candra were Havya and Kavya to be produced. The Pitṛs satisfy themselves with Kavya on the afternoon of the Amāvāsyā day. The Devas satisfy themselves with havya. Thus was Candra apportioned on the Candrabhāga hill between Devas and Pitṛs.

He who listens to this story will be freed from consumption. Here ends Ch. 21.

Ch. 22. Where Candra was first washed on the Candrabhāga hill, there arose the river Sītā; it fell in the lake Bṛhallohita and flowed out westwards into the sea as the river Candrabhāgā. The digression ends here.

Śl. 17. The story of Vasiṣṭha-Arundhatī marriage is resumed: Vasiṣṭha met Sandhyā doing penance on the Candrabhāga hill and desired to know the cause of her penance. At her request, Vasiṣṭha imparted to her the Viṣṇumantra. His first description of Viṣṇu echoes the Viṣṇusahasranāma of the Mahābhārata—

परमं यो महत्तेजः परमं यो महत्तपः ।
परमो यः समाराध्यः विष्णुर्मनसि धीयताम् ॥

Vasiṣṭha then disappeared. Sandhyā propitiated Viṣṇu with that Mantra and her penance. Śls. 52-70, Sandhyā's hymn to Viṣṇu; Śālinī, Anuṣṭubh, Upajāti etc. Viṣṇu appeared before her. She asked of Him that beings should not become prey to love soon after their birth, that she should be the world's first Pativratā and that whoever looked at her in lust should lose his manliness. Viṣṇu ordained that men and women would begin loving only after attaining youth and granted her the other requests. Viṣṇu told her also that sage Medhātithi was conducting a sacrifice in that same hill and that, thinking of that person whom Sandhyā would like to have as her lord, she might give up her body in the sacrificial fire of Medhātithi. Viṣṇu then touched Sandhyā and she became Puroḍāśa in her body. Unperceived by any, and thinking of Vasiṣṭha as fit to be her lord, Sandhyā entered the fire. Her being went up to the sun who divided her into two, morning Sandhyā and evening Sandhyā, the former delighting the devas, the latter, the pitṛs. From there she was reborn through the fire as a beautiful daughter to Medhātithi

during his sacrifice. She was called Arundhatī because she never would hinder (न रुध्) Dharma ! Ch. ends in Vasantatilakā.

Here is finished Ch. 22.

Ch. 23. Arundhatī's life on the slopes of the Candrabhāga hill, in Medhātithi's hermitage. The pond in which she sported became the holy Arundhatītīrtha. Expatiation on the great merit of bathing in Kārtika in the Candrabhāgā. Brahmā directed Madhātithi to send Arundhatī to Sāvitrī and others for education. Accordingly, Arundhatī receives instruction from Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Sarasvatī, Drupadā and Bahulā who descended to her everyday from the Sun. There in Mānasācala, while yet undergoing tuition, Arundhatī, attained youth; she met Vasiṣṭha and the two fell in love. The gods knowing this arranged their marriage, after bringing Medhātithi there. The waters poured on that occasion took seven branches and became seven lakes and seven rivers: Śiprā from Śipra; Kauśikī from Mahākośī; Mahānadī from Umākṣetra; Kāverī from lake Kavera; Gomatī from Mahākāla; Sarayū from Haṁsāvatāra; Irāvatī from the south of Himālayas, near Khāṇḍavāraṇya.

The recital of this story of Vasiṣṭha-Arundhatī marriage is meritorious during Puṁsavana, journey and Śrāddha. Last verse in Mālatī.

Here ends Ch. 23.

Ch. 24. With the above ch. ended the digression into the story of the lake Śipra and river Śiprā. Śiva's story is resumed.

Śiva is sadly sitting on Śiprā's banks. The gods pray to goddess Satī or Yogamāyā. Stotra on Satī, Śls. 9-27. As a result of the prayer, Yogamāyā withdraws herself from Śiva's heart. Viṣṇu gets into Śiva's mind and presents to Śiva's vision the creation, preservation and dissolution of the worlds. Śiva gets composed and enters Yoga. The gods retire. The sages ask Mārkaṇḍeya to describe how Viṣṇu conducted creation etc., and how the world is said to be "Nissāra", worthless.

Here ends Ch. 24.

Ch. 25. Description of Vārāha, the Ādisarga, *i.e.* the primary creation; then of the Pratisarga, or secondary creations, with their dissolutions. Description of time, starting from 'wink'; man's time-measure; god's time-measure etc. The great God is beyond time. Description of Pralaya or dissolution, before creation. This secondary dissolution is called Prakṛtilaya.

Ch. 25 ends here.

Ch. 26. Ādisṛṣṭi from God who is Himself Time. Purāṇic Sāṁkhya account of evolution. Varāha-avatāra story and Vārāhakalpa.

Ch. 26 ends here.

Ch. 27. The secondary creations (Pratisargas) begun by the Prajāpatis, Manu, Dakṣa, Marīci etc. From Virāṭ Manu appeared; from Manu, seven lesser Manus, Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata, Cākṣuṣa and Vaivasvata. These created profusely. This creation comprehends animals, men and semi-divine beings, sages and the gods.

Ch. 27 ends thus.

Ch. 28. Definition of a Manvantara and an account of Pralaya closing a Manvantara. The Lord now takes the Kūrma form to bear the globe going down in this deluge. The Lord goes to sleep bearing the Earth. Brahmā sees the Lord in sleep, Yoganidrā, prays to Yoganidrā, Śakti. Śls. 32-40, hymn to Yogamāyā. Yogamāyā then issues out of Viṣṇu in Rājasa form. Then starts creation as of yore.

Ch. 28 ends thus.

Ch. 29. The world thus created and dissolved is therefore Nissāra, pithless. The first Sāra or Being of permanence is Brahman of the form of knowledge. The other Sāra is Dharma which is the means to attain the Permanent. Śls. 7-13, a fine harangue on Dharma as the one supreme thing in the world. Everything else in the world is Nissāra.

Ch. 29 ends thus.

Ch. 30 Viṣṇu revelling in his boar-form with Earth and producing young ones; Śiva derides Viṣṇu and asks him to give up that boar-form.

Ch. 31. The Gods pray to Viṣṇu; Śls. 4-17, prayer to Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is pleased to give up his boar-form and asks Śiva to kill his boar-form, on which Śiva takes the Śarabha-form. Fight between Varāha and Śarabha. There is confusion here, when towards the end the Varāha is called Narasiṁha. Really it is the Narasiṁha-avatāra of Viṣṇu that Śiva puts down as Śarabha. There is a description of Śiva's attendants.

Ch. 31 ends here.

Ch. 32. How the Varāha became Yajñavarāha, the Sacrificial boar: Jyotiṣṭoma was born of its brow—nose juncture; similarly

Vahniṣṭoma, Vrātyastoma, Paunarbhavastoma, Vṛddhastoma, Bṛhatstoma, Atirātra, Vairāja, Adhyāpana, Brahmayajña, Tarpaṇa, Homa, Devabali, Bhūtayajña, Nṛyajña, Atithipūjā, Snāna, Nitya-yajña, Vājimedha, Mahāmedha, Naramedha (these sacrifices involving Prāṇihiṁsā were born of the boar's lowest part, the feet), Rājasūya, Vājapeya, Pratiṣṭha, Utsarga, Dāna, Śrāddha, Sāvitrī-yajña (these from the boar's very heart), Saṁskāras, Prāyaścittas, Rakṣassatra, Sarpasatra, Ābhicārika, Gomedha, Vṛkṣayāga (these from its hoof), Māyeṣṭi, Parameṣṭi, Agnīṣoma, Naimittika-yajñas done during Saṁkrānti etc., Dvadaśavārṣika, Tīrthaprayoga, Āśauca, Arka, Ātharvaṇa, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Ṛcotkarṣa, Kṣetra-yajña, Pañcamārga, Atiyojana, Liṅgasaṁsthāna, Herambayajña —all told, 1008 sacrificial rites arose from the different parts of the body of the Yajñavarāha. The sacrificial utensils and other paraphernalia also came out of Its body. The sacrificial fires came out of the bodies of Its sons.

Ch. 32 ends thus.

Ch. 33. The Ākālikapralaya that followed the Vārāhakalpa. Sage Kapila's request to Manu for a piece of land for doing penance; Manu's refusal; Kapila's anger and curse calling forth a deluge. The story of the Matsya-avatāra. Manu sights the fish, in this account, at Badarī.

Ends ch. 33.

Ch. 34. Continuation of the story of the Fish-incarnation. Śls. 22-33 Manu's prayer to God Matsya.

Ch. 34 ends.

Ch. 35. The Lord takes the Kūrma-incarnation to make even the surface of the earth at the end of the above Ākālika-pralaya. The rest of the creation is completed by Nara-Nārayaṇa. When herbs grow, sacrifices begin. Dakṣa's daughters marrying Kaśyapa and furthering creation. The tribe of Aditi and Diti, devas and asuras; and other classes of beings.

Ch. 35 ends with this.

Ch. 36. Śiva gives up his Śarabha-form. Out of the main body of Śarabha comes Kapālabhairava. The Kāpālika sect is incidently described with their rites: Māṁsa mastiṣka medo homa, Surayā-pūjana, Naramāṁsabali, Rudhirapāna, Surāpāraṇā, Kapāladhāraṇa and Vyāghracarmadhāraṇa. The form of Kapāla-bhairava is red, eighteen-armed, red-eyed and He is always sport-

ing with the Nāyikās, Kālī, Pracaṇḍā and others. He is also called Śmaśānabhairava and Mahābhairava. His worship with flesh, liquor etc. is done on Caitra śukla caturdaśī.

Ch. 36 ends here.

Ch. 37. Here begins the stories of Naraka, son of Varāha and Bhūmi, born an Asura because begotten by Varāha on a Rajasvalā mother.

Śls. 15-22, Bhūmi's prayer to Varāha. Earth conceived but at God Varāha's direction, did not deliver.

Ch. 38. King Janaka of Videha had no issue. Hearing of king Daśaratha, similarly issueless, getting sons through sacrifice, Janaka starts a sacrifice. Earth gave birth now to Sītā and presenting her to Janaka, told him that after Rāvaṇa and his tribe were destroyed through Sītā, She (Earth) would give birth to a son and that Janaka should bring up that son till his youth. Rāvaṇa and his tribe were killed and Earth yielded to Janaka, her son Naraka, begotten by Varāha. Viṣṇu (Varāha) appeared, told Earth that their son would rule the country of Prāgjyotiṣa so long as he remained a normal man, and disappeared.

Ch. 39. Janaka brought up Naraka for 16 years and then Earth and Viṣṇu took him through the waters of the Ganges to Kāmarūpa or Prāgjyotiṣa where he was made king.

The country of Kāmarūpa was at that time peopled by red-coloured hunters, Kirātas, with shaven heads and living on flesh. Naraka killed their chief, Ghāṭaka. Naraka was mounted on a white elephant.

"Kāmākhyā is the form of Goddess Yogamāyā here; here flows river Lauhityā. Rule from the city of Prāgjyotiṣa.' Having said this to Naraka, Viṣṇu disappeared.

Naraka drove the Kirātas beyond river Karatoyā and settled Brāhmaṇas on the land. Viṣṇu then secured as Naraka's wife Māyā, daughter of the Vidarbha king. He was worshipping Kāmākhyā on the hill Nīlakūṭa. King Janaka paid a visit to Naraka.

Here ends Ch. 39.

Ch. 40. Story of Bāṇa ruling at Śoṇitapura, a friend of Naraka. Bāṇa's friendship turned Naraka also into a demon. Naraka prevented Vasiṣṭha from worshipping Kāmākhyā. The Goddess left the temple as a protest against the treatment given to Vasiṣṭha. Bad times overtook Naraka, and Bāṇa was informed

of all these. At Bāṇa's suggestion, Naraka propitiated Brahmā with penance for boons. Bāṇa then suggested that Naraka should attack Indra.

Ch. 40 ends here.

Ch. 41. Naraka begets four sons. Hayagrīva, Mura and other celebrated demons join Naraka who begins to oppress the gods, sages and others.

Meantime at the god's request, Naraka's father, Viṣṇu, descends as Kṛṣṇa to do away with all demons including Naraka. A rapid resume of Kṛṣṇa's exploits. Kṛṣṇa kills Naraka and crowns his son Bhagadatta as king.

Ch. 41 ends here.

Ch. 42. Now the story of Satī becoming Pārvatī, daughter of Himavān is taken up.

Menā worships Yogamāyā. The worship starts on Caitra Aṣṭamī and goes for 27 days. Thus she worships for 27 years. Kālī appears. Śl. 19-28, Menā's prayer to Kālī. Kālī consents to become her daughter.

Pārvatī is born in Vasanta, Navamī, midnight. Story and expression follow Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava.

Ch. 43-46. Story and expression follow Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava. Hence I indicate here only one or two points deserving note: In Ch. 44, after burning Kāma, Śiva smears His body with Kāma's ash. The fire which came out of Śiva's third eye and burnt Kāma is made into Baḍabāgni and assigned to the sea by Brahmā. Ch. 46. Śls. 14-18, the seven sages' hymn to Śiva. Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī took place on Vaiśākha Śukla Pañcamī, Guruvāra when Candra was in Uttaraphalgunī and Sūrya in Bharaṇī.

Ch. 46 ends with this.

Ch. 47. The story of how Gaurī or Kālī won half of Śiva's body. This is given to Mārkaṇḍeya as narrated by sage Aurva to king Sagara. Sagara asks Aurva to discourse to him on this story and on how one should conduct himself, treat one's wife, son etc., on Sadācāra and Rājanīti.

Śl. 32 begins the story of Kālī or Gaurī who enjoys her honeymoon. Once Kālī meets Apsarasas and feels ashamed of Her own dark complexion, on which Śiva bathes Her with the waters of the Ganges on His head and makes Her white (Gaurī). Śls. 86-100, Pārvatī's prayer to Śiva requesting Him to change

Her complexion. Another time, Gaurī sees Herself mirrored in Śiva's heart but mistakes the image for a rival woman. To put an end to any such embarrassment in future, Śiva makes Her part of His body.

Ch. 47 ends here.

Chs. 48, 49. Aurva then gives the story of two gaṇas of Śiva, Bhairava and Vetāla. For this the birth of Skanda is given in detail.

Once the gaṇas, Bhṛṅgi and Mahākāla, posted at the gate, had to see Pārvatī in slipt garment. She curses them to be born as mortals for this sin, but since it was more Her fault, the gaṇas insist on Śiva and Pārvatī too becoming mortals. Śiva is born as Candraśekhara, son of king Pauṣya.

Ch. 50. To marry Him, Pārvatī is born of an Ikṣvāku king, Kākutstha, named Tārāvatī. Her Svayaṁvara, marriage with Candraśekhara and happy life at Karavīrapura.

Ch. 51. Two sons, Tumburu and Suvarcas, are born to Citrāṅgadā, Tārāvatī's sister and a sage named Kapota. The story of Citrāṅgadā's birth.

Chs. 52-53. Kapota wanted Tārāvatī's company. She saved herself by sending Kapota her unmarried sister. But the sage saw the deceit and cursed that Tārāvatī would beget two ugly sons with monkey-faces. So Bhṛṅgi and Mahākāla are born to Her as Vetāla and Bhairava.

Vetāla and Bhairava go for penance. Kapota tells them of the sanctity of Vārāṇasī as a Śivakṣetra.

Difference between Kṣetra and Pīṭha. In a Kṣetra, God is less manifest and blesses only after some time, but in a Pīṭha, He is more present and blesses immediately.

The Māhātmya of the Śiva Pīṭha in Kāmarūpa near Karatoyānadī, where Pārvatī also resides on the Nīlagiri. Account of Śiva's Āśrama in the North-east on the hill called Nāṭakaśaila.

Vetāla and Bhairava go to Nāṭakaśaila to worship Śiva. There is a Tīrtha there called Nandikuṇḍa; and there is also Sandhyācala in the South from which flows river Kāntā, where Vasiṣṭha is stationed. Vasiṣṭha imparts to Vetāla and Bhairava five Mantras—Sammada, Sandoha, Nāda, Gaurava and Prāsāda. From there the two go to Nāṭakaśaila, so called because Śiva is all the time dancing there with His gaṇas and Kinnaras; and there is incessant music. The Nāṭakaśaila is of the form of an umbrella,

Chatrākāra. The two worship Śiva there. Śls. 183-501, prayer by the two to Śiva. The two are given divine forms and asked to propitiate Pārvatī.

Ch. 53 ends here.

Ch. 54. The two tell Śiva that they knew not any Mantra or method to propitiate Mahāmāyā or Pārvatī. Śiva imparts to them Devī-mantras and methods of Devī-worship.

This, the Purāṇa says, is the teaching which later, Bhairava put in the form of the work called *Śivāmṛta* in 18 Paṭalas, with Nirṇayavidhi and Kalpa. (Śl. 5).

इत्युक्त्वा स महामायाध्यानं मन्त्रं विधिं तथा ।
कथयामास गिरिशः तयोः सम्यङ् नृपोत्तम ॥ ४ ॥
यदष्टादशभिः पश्चात् पटलैश्च स भैरवः ।
सनिर्णयविधिं कल्पं निबबन्ध शिवामृते ॥ ५ ॥

King Sagara asks sage Aurva to give in a short compass what is contained in the 18 sections of this work by Bhairava.

1. The Aṣṭākṣaramantra of Mahā Māyā Vaiṣṇavī.

अस्य श्रीवैष्णवीमन्त्रस्य नारदऋषिः शंभुर्देवता अनुष्टुप्छन्दः सर्वार्थ-साधने विनियोगः ।

Ch. 54 ends with a description of this Mantra. The colophon implies that the text of Bhairava in 18 Chs. has been incorporated into this section of the Kālikāpurāṇa, in a short form.

इति श्रीकालिकापुराणे महामायाकल्पे अष्टादशपटले चतुःपञ्चाशत्त-मोऽध्यायः ।

Ch. 55. Account of the worship with the same Mantra continued.

Colophon does not mention Mahāmāyākalpa etc.

Ch. 56. Same subject continued. Materials for the worship are given. Among fragrant pastes for smearing (Anulepana), we find, besides sandal, Kālīyaka and Kūrca, and in the incense-list we find Yakṣa-dhūpa, Prati(Patri)vāha, Piṇḍa-dhūpa, Golaka-dhūpa, Agaru and Sindhuvāra.

Ch. 57. Same subject. Balidāna etc. to Mahāmāyā.

Ch. 58. The Kavaca of the above-given Mantra.

Ch. 59. The Aṅga-mantras of Devī, her Pūjāsthānas, the Uttaramantras and the Kavacas of all these.

Ch. 60. The *Uttaratantra,* supplementing the *Devītantra* described in the previous Ch.

Then Kāmākhyāmāhātmya.

Ch. 61. The Aṅga-mantras. The Durgā-mantra for worship on the Śukla Pañcamī, Aṣṭamī and Navamī in Makaramāsa. Other occasions for this worship are:

Caitra Śukla Aṣṭamī:—with Aśoka flowers.

Jyeṣṭha ,, ,, and Navamī—Upavāsa; worship;

Tilānna, Modaka etc. Then Arghya on the Daśamī.

Āṣāḍha and Śrāvaṇa Śukla Aṣṭamī—Pavitrāropaṇa.

Then this Pavitrāropaṇa is described in detail.

With this ends ch. 61.

Ch. 62. Durgā mahotsava. The Āśvayuj Aṣṭamī and Navamī are called Mahāṣṭamī and Mahānavamī, both sacred to Devī. Worship of Devī in Jyeṣṭha and Proṣṭhapada months. The Durgā Navarātra. On the first eight days, Devī was feasting on the battlefield of Rāma and Rāvaṇa; when on the Navamī, Rāvaṇa was killed, Devī was worshipped on that day and on the following Daśamī, with Nīrājana etc. Dance, music, games and other enjoyments mark the festival. A second association of old which the Navarātri commemorates is Indra's worship and Nīrājana of Devī on the Daśamī on the death of Rāvaṇa. The Ch. then proceeds to narrate the other legend of Navarātri, *viz.,* the killing of Mahiṣāsura by Devī. (Śls. 53 ff.) The story of Mahiṣāsura.

Ch. 63. Devī had also joined Śiva in destroying Dakṣa's sacrifice; at the end, the gods worshipped Devī. The Navarātri is a perpetuation of this worship also.

Here and earlier also, the Vijayadaśamī is said to be marked by *Śābara Utsava.* The 'sending away of Devī' on the Daśamī must be done by Sumaṅgalis and maidens, courtezans and dancers, with music and dance. Fried gram, flowers, fragrant dusts and pastes and waters are thrown by people on each other's bodies, and obscene, sexual talk and pranks should be freely indulged in. The Goddess will be angry with him who does not mix in this shameless talk and play.

Then is described the worship of the Aṣṭayoginīs.

Ch. 63 ends here.

Ch. 64. Kāmākhyāmāhātmya, the greatness of Goddess Kāmākhyā at Nīlakūṭa hill. The Dainandinapralaya; origin of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the two demons; the origin of mountains; Śiva and Brahmā became mountains; the Śiva-mountain, Bhasmācala, became the Kubjikāpiṭha, *i. e.* the Nīlakūṭa hill. The Yoni which fell from Satī's body turned into stone and became the seat of Kāmeśvarī. The Pīṭhas of the 8 yoginīs.

Ch. 64 ends thus.

Ch. 65. On the five forms of Kāmākhyā.

Ch. 66. Devī worship according to *Vaiṣṇavatantra* continued. Then the 64 yoginīs and their worship.

Ch. 67. Worship of Devī's adjuncts continued.

Ch. 68. Description and worship of the form Kāmeśvarī. Pūjā according to the *Tripurātantra*, which is mentioned in Śls. 59 and 69. The colophon calls this Ch. Tripurājapa.

Ch. 68 ends thus.

Ch. 69. Śāradāpīṭha and worship of this form named Śāradā. Śāradā is said to be so called, because of her being worshipped in Śarat. This worship is according to three *tantras, Vaiṣṇavī, Uttarā* and *Durgā.*

Ch. 70. Namaskāra, Mudrā, Balidāna and Mātṛkānyāsa. Mudrās are 108 of which 55 are to be used in worship. The remaining Mudrās, 53, are used in gathering several kinds of objects, in code-communication and in dance, Dravyānayana, Saṅketa and Naṭana. The *Vaiṣṇavītantra* is cited in this section also. (Śls. 58-60.)

Ch. 70 ends with Mudrās.

Ch. 71. Balidāna as given in the *Vaiṣṇavītantra.* Animal-sacrifice. Human offering. *Durgātantra* is also cited (Śls. 152).

The colophon calls the Ch. Balidānavivaraṇa.

Ch. 72. The 16 (ṣoḍaśa) Upacāras: Several kinds of wood and wood-made seats. Clothes in different materials. Nine kinds of deer yielding skin for seat or clothing.

Ch. 73. Kinds of clothing, cotton, wool, silk, tree-bark. Two kinds of dress Syūta, stitched and Asyūta, unstitched. Uttarīya, Uttarāsaṅga, Nicola, Modacelaka and Paridhāna are five Asyūtas. Śāṇavastra, Niśāra, Ātapavāraṇa, Caṇḍātaka and Adṛśya are five Syūtas.

Śls. 16 ff. Ornaments: 40 kinds of ornaments: Kirīṭa, Śiroratna, Kuṇḍala, Lalāṭikā, Tālapatra, Hāra, Graiveyaka, Ūrmikā, Prālambikā, Ratnasūtra, Uttaṅgota(?), Ṛkṣamālikā, Pārśvadyota, Nakhadyota, Aṅgulīcchādaka, Jūṭālaka, Māṇavaka, Mūrdhatārā, Talantikā, Aṅgada, Bāhuvalaya, Śikhābhūṣaṇa, Śikhāliṅgin(?), Prāgaṇḍabandha, Udbhāsa, Nābhipūra, Mālikā, Saptakī, Śṛṅkhalā, Dantapatra, Karṇaka, Ūrusūca, Nīvī(?), Muṣṭivardha, Prakīrṇaka(?), Pādāṅgada, Haṁsaka, Nūpura, Kṣudraghaṇṭikā, Sukhapaṇṭa(?).

Śls. 37 ff. Gandha. 5 kinds of perfume-powder, paste, melted, liquid extract, extracted from animals like Kastūrī. Mention is made of some of the perfumes coming under each of the 5 classes. *E. g.* Kālēyaka, Candrabhāga.

Śls. 40 ff. Dhūpas: Yakṣadhūpa, Vṛkṣadhūpa, Śrīpiṣṭa, Agaru, Jharjhara, Patrivāha, Piṇḍadhūpa, Sugoḷa, and Kaṇṭha. Vṛkṣadhūpa is given as Vṛkadhūpa and Patrivāha as Putrivāha also.

Ch. 74. Naivedya and Bhakṣyaviśeṣas. Of the 16 Upacāras it is a pity, Tauryatrika is just mentioned and is not described at any length.

Ch. 75. Pradakṣiṇa namaskārau.

Ch. 76. Kāmākhyāmāhātmya continued. How Kāmākhyā forced Viṣṇu and Garuḍa to worship herself. Śls. 42-64, Kāmākhyā-kavaca stotra.

The colophon calls this Ch. Kāmākhyākavaca-māhātmya.

Ch. 77. Mātṛkānyāsa.

Ch. 78. Yonimudrā; 8 kinds. Some Mantra and Yantras.

Ch. 79. Puraścaraṇa; Śls 28-66 Tripurā-kavaca; The white manifestation of Tripurā as Sarasvatī and her worship.

The colophon calls the Ch. Tripurā-kavaca.

Ch. 80. 4 kinds of Mantra, Siddha, Susiddha, Sādhya, 4th?; on the Mantra-akṣaras; on Mantra-cakra.

Śiva's discourse on Devī-worship to Vetāla and Bhairava ends (76). The two return to Vasiṣṭha and then proceed to Nīlakūṭa and worship Kāmākhyā as taught by Śiva. Their prayer to Devī, (Śls. 96-103) partly in an irregular metre. They regain their divine forms.

Śiva shows them in person the several sacred sports on the Nīlācala: the Guhā of Kāmākhyā; His own Guhā; the Kāmapīṭha, he river Kharatoyā; His own Liṅga called Jalpīśa; Nandikuṇḍa

and Mahākuṇḍa; river Suvarṇamānasā; Devī's shrine; river Jaṭodā where a bath in Caitra-Sita-Aṣṭamī is of great merit; river Trissrotā, which was the Ganges of the Tretāyuga; rivers Sitaprabhā, Navatoyā, Agadā, etc.

Chs. 81-86. The other holy spots around Kāmākhyā shrine. The description of these places gives rise to many stories, one of which (Chs. 85-86) is the story of Paraśurāma.

Ch. 87. A few verses on a few other gaṇas of Śiva, Bhṛṅgī etc. Then begins sage Aurva's discourse on Dharma or Nīti.

Indriyanigraha most essential for kings; the qualities which a king should acquire; the four Upāyas; Ariṣaḍvarga (kāma etc.) must be won; the king should avoid Vyasanas, Strī, Mṛgayā etc. Yāna, Āsana, Āśraya, Dvaidha, Sandhi, Kośa, Janapada, Daṇḍa; Kṛṣi, Vāṇijya, Durga, Aṣṭavarga, Cāras, Upadhā; Durga and its several kinds; how the king should treat the womenfolk of the palace as also his sons. At the end of the Ch. *Śukra* and *Bṛhaspati* are mentioned as having written on this subject extensively.

Ch. 88. *Sadācāra*. Description of Sadācāra, the general Dharmas which a king should observe, Yajana, Adhyayana, Devapūjana, Śrāddha, Pitṛtarpaṇa, Maitra, and other duties which the king as a Gṛhastha must fulfil. He must see that every citizen observes his Dharma and there is no Dharmasaṅkara.

In Śarat, Mahāṣṭamī, the king must worship Durgā and conduct Nīrājana on the Daśamī. In Pauṣa-tṛtīyā, the king must do Puṣyābhiṣecana. In Jyeṣṭhā, Daśaharā, the king must do Viṣṇu-iṣṭi. When Sūrya is in Siṁha, *i.e.*, in Śrāvaṇa, in Dvādaśī, the king must conduct Śakrapūjā.

Then, a description of Nīrājanavidhi in Āśvina Śukla-pakṣa. Worship of a horse, the Dikpālakas, other Devas, and Homa for seven days. On the seventh day, worship of Remanta, son of Sūrya. Śāntikarman for the King's Caturaṅgasainya. Vājinīrājana.

Ch. 89. Puṣyasnānavidhi. This is also a Śāntikarman to ward off several kinds of evil.

Ch. 90. Śakradhvaja festival to be conducted by a king for ensuring victory for himself. This is celebrated when Sūrya is in Siṁha, *i. e.* Śravaṇa. Uparicara Vasu started this, during the rains, on the dark Dvādaśī. First, cutting of the tree for the flag-

pole; then in Bhādrapada-Śukla-Aṣṭamī, the flag-pole must be brought to the Vedi. The best and highest pole is to measure more than 42 hastas or 52 hastas. Five images of maidens should be established to represent Indra, and other women images are also to be there, called Śakra-mātṛkas. The measurements for these images are given. The banner has to be tied to the pole on Śukla-Ekādaśī. On Dvādaśī, worship of this pole which represents Indra. The whole flag with pole is then raised (śakra-dhvaja-utthāpana) with hymns on Indra. Bells, chowries and garlands are tied to this flag. A state-officer with an architect should raise Indra's banner.

Uttaratantra is said to be the source of this account (Śl. 27).

At the foot of the banner, pūjā must be done for Indra, Śacī, Mātali, Jayanta, Vajra, Airāvata, Grahas and Dikpālas. Homa, Naivedya etc. The pūjā is for seven days. Visarjana of Śakra on Dvādaśī, in the last pāda of Bharaṇī. After Visarjana, the flag is to be thrown in deep water. The king should not see the flag being abandoned. The throwing should be quietly done by night.

Ch. 91. Viṣṇu-iṣṭi for the king in Jyeṣṭhā; worship of Hari in a golden image or an image of wood or stone.

Here the *Viṣṇudharmottara* is twice referred to by Mārkaṇḍeya (Śl. 70 in Ch. 91 and Śl. 2 in Ch. 92) as containing his previous discourses on these subjects.

On Pañcamī in Jyeṣṭhā, Lakṣmī pūjā. Some of the acts a king should and should not do; on several kinds of sons and the duties to be done to them; what a Śūdra should not do; other acts a king should and should not do, *i.e.* some Sadācāras for the king.

Ch. 92. No good future for the sonless soul; importance of sons; the story of how Bhairava begot a son on Urvaśī; the line of Bhairava through that son; in this line was born a king called Vijaya who created the Khāṇḍava forest which Arjuna subsequently burnt. The story of Khāṇḍava-dāha.

Ch 93. The line of Vetāla. It is strange that Vetāla's line is the animal class, cows, through Kāmadhenu. Importance of cows.

Winding up of the contents of the Purāṇa. The Ch. ends with a prayer to Māyā.

NOTES ON THE ANCIENT POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTH INDIA

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2. MUṆḌARĀṢṬRA

The rāṣṭra probably owes its name to the Muṇḍas who are classed together with the Dravidians as the aboriginal tribes of South India belonging to the same anthropological type. The limits of Muṇḍarāṣṭra are no way definite though its situation in the Nellore District of the Madras Presidency is established.[1]

The rāṣṭra finds mention in three early grants of the Pallavas, which enable us to fix its exact position. It can be said that the country between the rivers Pennār and Suvarṇamukhī bounded on the west by a range of the Eastern Ghats and on the east by the sea was the region of the Muṇḍarāṣṭra. This corresponds to the present Nellore District south of the river Pennār. This location is made on certain identifications, made here for the first time, of the names that occur in the grants mentioned above. The identifications are that R. Suprayōgā of the Uruvapalle plates is the Pennār (Uttarapinākinī) and that the villages Uruvapalle, Keṇḍukūra[3], Karupūra and Kṇḍamuruvudu mentioned in the same grant are Vulavapalle[4], Gollakandukūru[5], Kanupurapalle

1. H. K. Sastri: EI., XI, p. 342. In later inscriptions places in and around Nellore are stated to belong to Muṇḍainādu.

2. ARE., 1900, II, para 47, p. 17.

3. The Pikira grant of Siṁhavarman (EI., viii, p, 159), the Uruvapalle grant of Y. M. Viṣṇugōpa (IA. v, p. 30) ; and the Viḷavaṭṭi grant of Siṁhavarman (C. P. 106 of 1933-34).

3a. It is interesting to note that the suffix ending 'kura' of this village name means a town in the ancient vocabulary of the Muṇḍa languages (*Vide*: Jean Prazyluski, JAHRS. iv, p. 52).

4. 79. 35' E. Long 14. 32' N. Lat.; the postal directory includes the village in the Nellore Taluq.

5. Contra. Venkayya, ARE., 1904-5, II. para 2, who took it to be Kandukūr, the headquarters of a taluq in the Nellore district.

and Koṇḍamīdikoṇḍūru, which are all situated on the banks of the Pennār in the Ātmakūr Taluq of the Nellore Dt., within a radius of five miles from the town of Ātmakūr itself[1]. Further, the Pikira of Siṁhavarman's grant may be likewise identified with Pigilam, a village on the railway line from Gūḍūr to Veṅkaṭagiri in the Veṅkaṭagiri Division[2].

On the identification of Suprayōgā more has to be said. It is a river to which we have very few references in the whole range of inscriptions and literature. For, besides the reference in the Uruvapalle plates, the only other inscriptional notice of it is in the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra[3] where an additional detail regarding the river is recorded, *viz.*, that it was situated in the Hiraṇyarāṣṭra, with the village Biriparu on its southern bank. In literature it is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[4], the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*[5] and in the *Avantisundarīkathā*[6] and *Bhagavadajjuka*,[7] two works of the Pallava period. In all the passages in which the river finds mention most of the other principal rivers of South India, like the Narmadā, Gōdāvarī, Kṛṣṇā, Tuṅgabhadrā, Kāvērī and Tāmraparṇī are mentioned so that the identification of Suprayōgā with any of these is not permissible. Further, in the lists that include Suprayōgā there is no notice of Pennār at all. From the passage in the *Bhagavadajjuka* quoted below, it may be inferred that it was a river situated north of Kāñcī, perhaps not very far, as by crossing it one reached Kāñcī. It is not possible to mistake this reference as the stanza in question means more than a casual

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The absence of any river near Kandukūr makes this identification untenable.

1. Survey map 57 N/NE.
2. Survey Map 57 N/SE 79. 41 E Long 14 O' N Lat.
3. EI. xi, p. 395 text l. 20.
4. Bhīṣmaparvan, canto IX, v. 20.
5. Adhyāya 45, v. 104.

    Gōdāvarī Bhīmarathī Kṛṣṇavēṇyāñca Vañjulā|
    Tuṅgabhadrā Suprayōgā Kāvērī ca tathāpagā|
    Dakṣiṇāpathanadyastu Sahyapādādvinissṛtāḥ||

6. I am obliged to Mr. M. R. Kavi for this reference.
7. Gōlēyīm Kṛṣṇavēṇām paśupatibhavanam suprayōgāñca Kāñcīm, J. B. B. R. S. X.

enumeration of rivers and places unlike the *Mahābhārata* and the *Avantisundarīkathā*. It describes the route taken by Yama, and the places and rivers mentioned therein follow the order in which they lay along the route. Suprayōgā is mentioned between Paśupatibhavanam *i. e.* Śrīśailam, and Kāñcī, and the only river of note in this region is the Pennār, with its tributaries Kundēru, Citrāvatī, Pāpaghnī and Ceyyēṟu, the first of which joins it after flowing north to south and the rest after flowing south to north. Therefore it is possible to hold that Suprayōgā is the river Pennār. This gains further support from the detail afforded by the Mālēpāḍu plates, *viz.* that it flowed through Hiraṇyarāṣṭra and that Biripāṟu[1] was situated on its southern bank. Now, on the identification of Hiraṇyarāṣṭra our position finally rests. But for one clue found in an inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III at Puṣpagiri[2], the identification of Hiraṇyarāṣṭra would have to be left to pure conjecture. For, from a statement made in that inscription we come to know that Muḷikināḍu formed part of Honnavāḍi. Muḷikināḍu, it has been held quite correctly, was the name of the country round about Puṣpagiri and Kāmalāpuram near Cuddapah, which is referred to as Muḷiki 300 in early inscriptions[3]. Honnavāḍi is, doubtless, the Canarese form of Hiraṇyarāṣṭra as 'honnu' is the Canarese synonym for 'hiraṇya' or gold. Hiraṇyarāṣṭra or Honnavāḍi, being the region in which Muḷikināḍu was situated, may be identified with the country now forming the Kāmalāpuram and Cuddapah Taluqs.

The river that flows through this region is found to be the Pennār. The same river again flows near the villages mentioned in the Uruvapalle grant as seen above. Pennār is common to both the regions and likewise the Suprayōgā of the inscriptions. It follows, therefore, that the two rivers are identical.

From the foregoing discussion it would be seen that the limits of Muṇḍarāṣṭra were well-defined and that the terri-

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1. The reading is not Biraparu as Krishna Sastri had read it. EI, xi, 345 l. 20 *Vide* plate opposite.

2. ARE 306 of 1905 of Kṛṣṇa Kanhabedeva. This king is, no doubt, Kṛṣṇa III who has left another inscription in the same district, at Rāmeśvaram in the Proddatūr taluq (ARE 363 of 1904).

3. ARE 395 of 1904.

tory roughly included the portion of the Nellore Dt. south of Pennār and north of R. Suvarṇamukhī.

3. DRAMIḶA OR TUṆḌĀKARĀṢṬRA

The country situated adjacent to Muṇḍarāṣṭra towards its south was known as Dramiḷa, which after the advent of the Pallavas in the region, acquired another name and came to be known as Tuṇḍākarāṣṭra or Tuṇḍaka-Viṣaya[1]. The name Tuṇḍākarāṣṭra is of great significance. It is obviously a Sanskritisation of the Tamil form Toṇḍaināḍu which again is a Tamilisation of the Sanskrit term Pallavarāṣṭra. The origin of the term Pallava apart, in the Tamil Language it came to be translated literally into Toṇḍai, meaning a sprout or creeper[2]; and the Pallavas were accordingly called Toṇḍaiyārs, their country, the Toṇḍaināḍu and their king Toṇḍaimāṉ or Toṇḍaiyarkoṉ. It is important to note that while mostly in Tamil sources this region is called Toṇḍaināḍu, all other references to it are by the first and earlier name of Dramiḷa. Probably the earliest epigraphical reference to this region is found in the Hatigumpha inscription of king Khāravēla[3] where Tramira seems to be the form in which it was known. In the early Prākṛt inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus

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1. Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarmaṉ Pallavamalla, SII. ii, p. 359. Vokkalēri plates of Kīrtivarmaṉ II, EI, v, p. 200. "Tuṇḍka-viṣayam. . . .prāpya kāñcīm avināśya praviśya".

2. To indicate that 'Pallava' is an earlier term than 'Toṇḍaiyār' and not *vice versa* as is supposed, it may be stated that in its origin the term Pallava does not seem to have had the meaning of creeper that Toṇḍai signifies. On the other hand, its meaning seemed to have been 'a libertine' and 'paramour' and, in my opinion, this meaning fits very well with the legendary account of the origin of the Pallavas as a mixed race born of a liaison, an account which is in an indirect manner referred to in the Vēlūrpāḷayam plates in the term 'Cūtapallava'. It may be therefore suggested that in the process of Tamilisation, Pallava was understood as a creeper and accordingly translated into Toṇḍai. It is important to note that the term 'Pallava' or the 'Toṇḍaiyār' did not indicate the Pallava dynasty of rulers in the same manner as Villavaṉ and Mīṉavaṉ referred to the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya in the sense of their having the emblem of the Toṇḍai like the bow (vil) of the Cēra and the fish (Mīṉ) of the Pāṇḍya. The Pallava emblem was not the Toṇḍai but the Khaṭvāṅga, and their crest the bull.

3. EI., XX, pp. 78 and 85.

it is termed Dramiḷa[1] and in the Buddhist Pāli literature Damilō[2] is the term applied. Kīrtivarman I (568-98 A. D.) is stated to have subdued the king of Dramiḷa besides those of Kēraḷa, Gaṅga, Mūṣaka, Pāṇḍya, Cōḻiya, Āḷuka and Vaijayanti[3]. The distinction that is always maintained between Dramiḷa on the one hand and the rest of the kingdoms of South India on the other, goes to show that the Dramiḷa country was small in area, certainly not big at all, as it did not include the other kingdoms of the south[4]. This receives support from the fact that among the conquests of Pallava Siṁhaviṣṇu all the south Indian kingdoms like Malaya Kaḷabhra Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa are mentioned but not Dramiḷa,

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1. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inss. EI, xx, pp. 22-3 text 'Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Damiḷa, Paḷūra and Taṁbapamṇi.' EI, x, Luder's list no. 1243.

2. Mahāvaṁśa, ch. xxi I. 13. Geiger's translation p. 143. Eḷāra is stated to be a Damiḷa of noble birth who proceeded to Ceylon from Cōḷaraṭṭha. He would appear to have gone to Ceylon from the Dramiḷa country to which he belonged, after annexing the Cōḷaraṭṭha. It is not possible to assume that Damiḷa was the common form employed to indicate the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom of Madura, the Cōḷaraṭṭha and all the other kingdoms of the south. Pāṇḍyan kingdom was certainly outside of Damiḷa, the statement in the Mahāvaṁśa itself being that it was in Dakṣiṇa only. All the references to the Damiḷas in the Mahāvaṁśa may be taken to refer only to the people of Dramiḷa, and this is well supported by the existence of intimate intercourse with Ceylon from the Dramiḷa country, which is attested by the fact that Yuan Chwang sought to leave for Ceylon from a port in Dramiḷa. The conquest of Ceylon by Siṁhaviṣṇu I and the rather intimate personal relations that existed between Narasiṁhavarman I and Māṉavarma of Ceylon who sought the aid of the Pallava to regain his throne are all instances in point. Further, Narasiṁha's army is called the 'Damiḷisēnā' in Mahāvaṁśa J.R.A.S. 1913, p. 527. *Vide* B. C. Chhabra: J.A.S.B. Letters I, p. 9; also B.C. Law: Ind. Cul., III, p. 386.

3. IE. xix, p. 18, "Vaṅgāṅgakaliṅga vaṭṭūra Magadha Madra Kēraḷa Gaṅga Mūṣaka Pāṇḍya Dramiḷa Coḷiyāḷuka Vaijayantya prabhṛti".

4. In the Mahābhārata ii, 34, 1271; iii 51, 1788; v 22, 656; viii 11, 454, Drāviḍas who attended the *Rājasūya* sacrifice and later fought in the war are mentioned as distinct from the Cōḷas, Cēras and Pāṇḍyas. (P. T. S. Aiyangar. History of the Tamils, p. 328; S. K. Aiyangar: contributions, p. 136.)

because that country was his own and under his rule. We get to know of the exact limits of the territory and its situation more accurately from the account of Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller, whose description of Draviḍa and its capital Kāñcīpura, leaves no doubt that the Dramiḷa country was 'the country of the Pallavas on the east coast, with Kāñcī as its capital,[1] and which had a sea-port, the place of embarkation for Ceylon. This is the country that is immediately south of Muṇḍarāṣṭra. The identity of Dramiḷa with the kingdom of Pallava of Kāñcī is further borne out by the fact that the Pallava princes Citramāya and others who opposed the accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla were termed Dramiḷa princes[2]. Again, at a later period, it is found that the term Damarigas came to be applied to the forces of the Kāḍuveṭṭi or the Pallava[3]. A general of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III is stated to have taken Kāñcī from the 'knavish Dramiḍas'[4]. Śrutadēvasūri, of unknown date, the commentator of the Jaina work *Yāsastilaka*, a work of the time of the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch, equates Pañcadramiḷa with the Pallava territory[5]. Whether the form Pañcadramiḷa indicates five divisions of the kingdom is an assumption that can be by no means definite as no clue to the significance of the number in respect of another such term, the Pañcapāṇḍya, is available in spite of the fact that in the latter case Pāṇḍyan kingship in its later days was not single[6].

DRAMIḶA, TAMIḺ AND TAMIḺAGM.

Having indicated the situation of the Dramiḷa country, it is necessary to examine the term Tamiḻ. Bishop Caldwell held the view that the terms Tamiḻ and Draviḍa, though they seemed to

1. Fleet, IA. xix, p. 18.
2. SII, ii, p. 367 Udayēndiram plates, text II. 46 ff.
3. Gulganpode inscriptions of Mahābali Bāṇarsa, father of Prabhumēru., EC. x, Sp. 5. It is stated in this connection that a servant of Prabhumēru pursued the Damarigas and smote them. From the next inscription (Sp. 6) the Damarigas are found to be the forces of Kāḍuveṭṭi, the Pallava. An inscription of a Pallava is noticed at the same place, (IA. x, p. 36.).
4. ARE 383 of 1904.
5. Yāśastilaka, canto I, vs. 207-9; commentary on.
6. SII. i. p. 113 and n 3. Rājēndracōḷa is called Pañcadramiḷādhipati and it is supposed that the title represents the five chiefs.

differ a good deal, were identical in origin, and he further assumed the word Draviḍa to be the Sanskrit form and deduced Tamil from it. His general position may be accepted, but there is no need to accept his statement as to Draviḍa being Sanskrit, and Tamil a later derivation from it, as there is a common and correct form that occurs in inscriptions, *viz.*, Tramrand Dramiḷa, with its Prākṛt and Pāli equivalents Damiḷa and Damilō. It would appear that Draviḍa was a Sanskritisation of the original form Dramiḷa and Tamiḻ having no connection with the Sanskrit form came to be derived directly from Dramiḷa or Tramira.

From this, though it may involve a slight digression, we are led to examine the term Tamiḷagam to ascertain its geographical application and to see if it has any bearing on the location of Dramiḷa. V. Kanakasabhai sought to define the limits of Tamiḷagam and said that "they were from Veṅkaṭa Hill in the north to Cape Comorin in the south and from the Bay of Bengal in the east to the Arabian sea in the west."[1] His view is substantially correct, but requires greater definiteness. This is supplied when the accounts of the Periplus and Ptolemy are examined. The first ports of Limyrike, *i.e.*, Tamiḷagam, according to them, are Naura and Tyndis which are situated in the north Cēra country.[2] From the same source it is known that Nitra formed the southernmost port of the Āriake. It is not possible to treat Nitra and Naura as identical, for the one was in Āriake while the other was in Limyrike. Before the identification of the first ports of Limyrike is settled beyond doubt, the port of Nitra, doubtless that which was situated at the mouths of the R. Nētrāvatī, corresponding to the modern Mangalore, may be accepted as the dividing point between Āriake and Limyrike. This is supported by the statements in Tamil literature and in one of the Pāṇḍyan grants. From the former it is known that Imayavarambaṉ Neṭuñcēralātaṉ, a Śaṅgam celebrity, famous as the destroyer of the Kaḍambas, fought the Āryas beyond the north of the southern border of Tuḷunāḍu;[3] Tuḷunāḍu has come to be identified with the country around Mangalore, and the fight with the Āryas might have taken place on the southern borders of Āriake, where

1. Tamils 1800 Years ago, p. 9. He bases this on the Śilappadikāram, VIII, 1 and 2.

2. K. G. Sesha Aiyar, Cēras.

3. K. N. S. Pillai, Chronology of the Tamils, pp. 116-7.

Mangalore, which corresponds to Nitra of Ptolemy, is situated. Again, in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant, Kōccaḍaiyan̲ Raṇadhīra who had the titles Madurakarunāṭakan̲ and Koṅgarkōmān̲, is said to have attacked and subdued the Mahārathas in the great city of Maṅgalāpuram, which has been identified with the modern Mangalore.[1] The Mahārathas and the Āryas are often treated as identical and the fight at Mangalore may be understood to be one of the border fights between the people of the south and the Āryas of Ariake. Mangalore can, therefore, be taken to be the northern limit of Tamiḷagam on the west coast. On the east coast, Veṅkaḍam can be accepted as the northern limit for the reason that beyond that limit great difference in language is noted. Māmūlan̲ār, a Śaṅgam poet, famous as the one who testified to a Mauryan invasion of Tamiḷagam, has noticed this difference in language in the region beyond Veṅkaḍam.[2] The same language difference was noted by Yuan Chwang who remarks that 'in their written and spoken language they (*i.e.*, the people of Draviḍa) differed from Mid-India.' The northern limit of Tamiḷagam on the East Coast thus fixed at Veṅkaḍam, it is seen that it does not extend beyond the northern limit of Dramiḷa as just at the point where Veṅkaḍam stands Muṇḍarāṣṭra begins. It is evident that Dramiḷa and Tamiḷagam start at the same point and while Tamiḷagam came to mean a larger area, Dramiḷa applied to a much smaller and limited region.

It is therefore possible to take the view that Dramiḷa gave its name to the region to its south which came to be called Tamiḷagam. Instances of small pieces of territory giving their names to whole continents are not wanting in history. Hindusthan is an instance in point. Originally applied to a limited region in the Indus valley, it came to signify the whole land between the Indus and the Ganges and finally the whole of India. For such results foreigners are found to be not less responsible than the highly imaginative native poets, who do not falter to describe large regions by the names of their most important units unmindful that there may exist various independent units that comprise the region. A close examination of the account in the Periplus, of sections 59-61, reveals that the author's Damirica did not include certain regions like the Paralia, the Argaru and the parts

1. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: The Pandyan Kingdom, p. 55.
2. Māmūlan̲ār: Agam, 31, 127, 211, 295.

Camara, Peduca and Sopatma.[1] He betrays an ignorance as to what really constituted Damirica for, at the outset he declared that with Naura and Tyndis began the first markets of Damirica, while in the sections referred to above he excludes certain regions situated south from it. Damirica seems to have been as vague a term as Dakṣiṇabades in the accounts of these classical writers and such vagueness of nomenclature is noticed in the Mahābhārata also. For instance, Sahadeva is stated to have proceeded to Dakṣiṇāpatha after subduing the Pāṇḍyas, a statement which sounds absurd. It seems, therefore, quite reasonable to believe that at very early times the purely Tamil country or the country of the Tamils or Dramiḷas did not exceed beyond the limits of Dramiḷa.

The above view receives a certain amount of linguistic support. It is held that there are great differences as well as similarities between the Muṇḍa and the Dravidian groups of languages, though the anthropological sameness of the two people is conceded. The similarities are resorted to by scholars to postulate a common origin theory for the two groups of languages, while sceptical scholars resort to the differences to dispute it. Whatever may be the truth, the similarities, at any rate, presuppose an intercourse between the Drāviḍas and the Muṇḍas. Sten Konow, the most sceptical of the opponents of the common origin theory, however concludes by saying "Draviḍas and Muṇḍas must have had early intercourse with each other......... and coincidences between them in vocabulary cannot prove any philological connection." It is not appropriate here to proceed further with the discussion but it may be remarked that nothing could be more striking and of greater significance for the linguists than that, according to our geographical survey, Muṇḍarāṣṭra and Dramiḷa are found to be situated in such close proximity. The intercourse between the two groups of people caused by their close proximity largely explains the similarities in their respective languages, and while the language of the country south of Dramiḷa came to be based on or greatly influenced by the language of Dramiḷa with the Muṇḍa elements in it, the language of the people north of Muṇḍarāṣṭra received the Dravidian elements likewise.

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1. Scholff's Edition p. 46-7; *vide also* Kanakasabhai: Tamils, p. 36 for a clearer rendering of the account.

LIMITS OF DRAMIḶA.

The limits of Dramiḷa or Tuṇḍaka may now be indicated. The country between the R. Suvarṇamukhī on the north and R. Peṇṇai (Southern Pennar) in the South Arcot Dt., on the south,[1] bounded on the west by the range of the Eastern ghats was the region of Dramiḷa. It included the whole of Chingleput Dt. and portions of North Arcot and South Arcot districts. The administrative units, usually named Kōṭṭam and Nāḍus, that comprised Tuṇḍaka are not all of them known from the few inscriptions of this period. Paiyyūṟilaṅkōṭṭam, of which Mallam of Tiruvāmbūr, and Tiruvoṟṟiyūr were two important places, was situated in the northern part corresponding to the Poṉṉeri Taluq of the Chingleput Dt., and the Sulurpet division of the Nellore Dt. Others were Maṉayiṟkōṭṭam, in which was situated Poṉṉanāḍu, and Urrukkattakkōṭṭam, both lying west of Kāñcī[2]. Adayara rāṣṭra or Paścimārya Nadiviṣaya, a literal Sanskrit translation of the Tamil term Meladaiyāṟunaḍu, was another unit near Kāñcī towards its south on the banks of the Pālār[3]. Poliyūrnāḍu, of which Taṇḍalam, now in the Karvetnagar Zamindari, was a village, was another division situated around the modern Arkonam, N.A. District[4]. Pūndamallee was the head-quarters of another division. Mallai and Mayilai, Māmallapuram and Mayilāpuram respectively, were places of importance for the whole district. The former, being a sea-coast town, was perhaps the port of embarkation for Ceylon and the latter was a place of pilgrimage.

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1. E. I. IX p. 84; The Ambasamudram inscription of Varaguṇa (c. 800 A.D.) records that R. Pennai was in Toṇḍaināḍu. It is doubtful if it could have extended so far south, as the River Cheyyar seems to be its normal limit. In the recent article in Śen Tamiḻ (Vol. XXXVI.) Mr. S. S. Bharatiyar concludes on the available Tamil literary evidence that Kumari the southern boundary of Tamiḻagam was the name of a River and that to its south there was a piece of territory that was non-Tamil. It may be suggested, on the strength of his conclusion, that R. Peṇṇai was probably the Kumari of Tamil Literature.

2. S. I. I. I, p. 154-5.

3. S. I. I. II, p. 365-382.

4. E. I. VII. p. 25; Taṇḍalam rock inscription of a Pallava-mahārāja C. 850 A. D.

॥ श्रीः ॥

॥ भट्टबाणः ॥

(महामहोपाध्याय आर्. वि. कृष्णमाचार्याः)

आर्यमिश्राः !

अनवद्यम् अमृषोद्यं चेदं भट्टबाणमहाकवेः सुभाषितम्—यदुच्यते—"शक्याशक्यपरिसंख्यानशून्याः प्रायेण स्वार्थतृषः । परगुणानुरागिणी प्रियजनकथाश्रवणरसरभसमोहिता च, मन्ये, महतामपि मतिरपहरति प्रविवेकम्" इति । अत एव, विश्वसिमः, अविगणय्य परमाणुपरिमाणतां बटुहृदयस्य, अनाकलय्य परिमितवर्णवृत्तितां शब्दकतिपयानाम्, आदिष्टाः स्मः संस्कृतसेवासमित्या प्रस्तुत्य भट्टबाणप्रबन्धं वाङ्मुखं किमप्यवतारयितुम् । नूनमिदं "सर्वज्ञस्याप्यविषयः, वाचस्पतेरप्यगोचरः, सरस्वत्या अप्यतिभारः", किमुत मन्दमतीनामस्मादृशाम् । अस्य हि वर्णविन्यासान् पश्यतां रसिकानाम् अतिसंकटमम्बरतलम्, लिखतां पदजालानि अविस्तीर्णं महीमण्डलम्, गणयतामर्थगुणान् अल्पीयसी संख्या, शृण्वतां व्यङ्ग्यविशेषान् अबहुभाषिणी सरस्वती, ध्यायतां रसपरिपोषान् ह्रसीयान् कालो हृदयस्य आपतति ।

अथवा, निपुणनिरूपणे, रूपान्तरमेवेदं प्रसादप्रकर्षस्य, यत्स्वाधीनो जनः स्व इवान्तरात्मा निर्विशङ्कमुपयुज्यते नियोगकर्मणि । अणुरपि प्रभुप्रसादपरिग्रहः समुपजनयति प्रागल्भ्यमधीरप्रकृतेः इति भट्टबाणः । "संभावना ह्यधिकृतस्य तनोति तेजः" इति भारविः । ततश्च, निपुणा इव विदितवेदितव्या इव च धन्यमात्मानं मन्यमानाः, तदेकदेशनिरूपणे प्रवृत्ताः स्मः । "कः खलु पुरुषायुषशतेनापि शक्नुयादविकलमस्य गुणगणं वर्णयितुम्" । "इयमधिगतकतिपयाक्षरलवलघीयसी जिह्वा क्वोपयोगमन्यत्र गमिष्यति" ॥

"नैसर्गिकी च प्रतिभा श्रुतं च बहु निर्मलम् । अमन्दश्चाभियोगोऽस्याः कारणं काव्यसंपदः ॥" इत्याचार्यदण्डी । "लोको विद्या प्रकीर्णं च काव्या-

ङ्गानि", "लोकवृत्तं लोकः" इति वामनः । "शक्तिर्निपुणता लोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणात् । काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाभ्यास इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे ॥" इति मम्मटः । तदेतदखिलमपि काव्याङ्गमस्मिन्नायतते वात्स्यायने महाकवाविल्यत्र को नाम सचेतनः संशेताम् ? यदेष चित्रभानुसूनुः, आत्मनो वयसा समानान् सुहृदः सहायांश्च, येषां परिचयेन लोकवृत्तं सुशिक्षितं भवति, स्वयमेव निर्दिशति—तद्यथा—"भ्रातरौ पारशवौ चन्द्रसेनमातृषेणौ, भाषाकविरीशानः परं मित्रम्, प्रणयिनौ रुद्रनारायणौ, विद्वांसौ वारबाणवासबाणौ, वर्णकविर्वेणीभारतः, प्राकृतकृत् कुलपुत्रो वायुविकारः, वन्दिनावनङ्गबाणसूचीबाणौ, कात्यायनिका चक्रवाकिका, जाङ्गुलिको मयूरकः, ताम्बूलदायकश्चण्डकः, भिषक्पुत्रो मन्दारकः, पुस्तकवाचकः सुदृष्टिः, कलादश्चामीकरः, हैरिकः सिन्धुषेणः, लेखको गोविन्दकः, चित्रकृद्वीरवर्मा, पुस्तकृत् कुमारदत्तः, मार्दङ्गिको जीमूतः, गायनौ सोमिलग्रहादित्यौ, सैरन्ध्री कुरङ्गिका, वांशिकौ मधुकरपारावतौ, गन्धर्वोपाध्यायो दर्दुरकः, संवाहिका केरलिका, लासकयुवा ताण्डविकः, आक्षिक आखण्डकः, कितवो भीमकः, शैलालियुवा शिखण्डकः, नर्तकी हरिणिका, पराशरी सुमतिः, क्षपणको वीरदेवः, कथको जयसेनः, शैवो वक्रघोणः, मन्त्रसाधकः करालः, असुरविवरव्यसनी लोहिताक्षः, धातुवादवित् विहंगमः, दार्दुरिको दामोदरः, ऐन्द्रजालिकश्चकोराक्षः, मस्करी ताम्रचूडः । स एतैश्चान्यैश्चानुगम्यमानो बालतया निघ्नतामुपगतो देशान्तरालोकनकौतुकाक्षिप्तहृदयः, सत्स्वपि पितृपितामहोपात्तेषु ब्राह्मणजनोचितेषु विभवेषु, सति च अविच्छिन्ने विद्याप्रसङ्गे, गृहान्निरगात् । अगाच्च निरवग्रहो ग्रहवानिव नवयौवनेन स्वैरिणा मनसा महतामुपहास्यताम् ।" इति । "अथ शनैः शनैरत्युदारव्यवहृतिमनोहन्ति बृहन्ति राजकुलानि वीक्षमाणः, निरवद्यविद्याविद्योतितानि च गुरुकुलानि सेवमानः, महार्हालापगम्भीरा गुणवद्गोष्ठीश्चोपतिष्ठमानः, स्वभावगम्भीरधीधनानि विदग्धमण्डलानि च गाहमानः, पुनरपि तामेव वैपश्चितीमात्मवंशोचितां प्रकृतिमभजत्" इति कथयन्, आत्मनो विद्यासंपत्तिम्, तत्साधनसंपदं च स्वयमेवाविष्करोति ॥

सहृदयाः ! पश्यन्तु भवन्तः—एतादृशेन संस्कृतमनसा शिक्षितमतिना राजदेवीकुमारेण भट्टबाणेन किमु नाम लोकवृत्तमनाकलितमवर्णितमवशिष्टं भविष्यति ? यत्पुनरन्यः कविरात्मना वर्णयितुं प्रगल्भताम् । इममेव ह्याशयमन्तर्भावयन्ती 'बाणोच्छिष्टं जगत्सर्वम्" इति सहृदयगोष्ठीषु प्रथते प्रथीयसी प्रख्यातिः ॥

यदा च महाकविरयम्, अभिनवार्थसमर्थकानि अग्राम्यजातिपक्षपातीनि अक्लिष्टश्लेषसुश्लिष्टानि, स्फुटावभासरसविलासभासुराणि, विकटाक्षरबन्धबन्धुराणि च पदानि प्रयुञ्जानः, कमप्यपूर्वमाह्लादैकमयमन्यं सिसृक्षति वाङ्मयं प्रपञ्चम्, तदा पुरस्तादहमहमिकया प्रादुर्भूतानि तान्येतानि, किमु नाम वसुधा सूते, अथ वा रसातलमुद्गिरति, आहोस्विदम्बरतलमभिवर्षति ? तदा चास्य प्रातिभं चक्षुरुन्मीलयति सारस्वतं ज्योतिः, येनायमखिलमपि भुवनतलं सिद्ध इव इदमिति इत्थमिति च करबदरसदृशमनुपश्यति । पश्यंश्चायमरोचकिष्वग्रगण्यो गणयति काव्यानुगुण्येन सगुणमगुणं वा तत्तद्वस्तुजातम्, गणयंश्च विमर्शशीलोऽयमात्मकाव्यमारोप्य समासेन व्यासेन वा अवर्णरहितं वर्णयति, वर्णयंश्च तन्महिम्ना भावुकानां प्रत्यक्षायमाणं भावनापथमुपनयति, उपनयंश्च रम्यतातिशयेन रञ्जयति रसिकमनांसि, रञ्जयंश्च सञ्जयति सहृदयान् विगलितवेद्यान्तरे विलुप्तविषयावभासे चिदानन्दैकघने शाश्वते रसब्रह्मणि । अयं च पर्वक्रमो नियतं मनसो विदूरः, इन्द्रियाणामसंनिकृष्टः, केवलमनुभवैकवेदनीयः, कया वाण्या कथ्यताम्, कतरेण प्रकारेण निरूप्यताम्, कतमेन प्रमाणेन वर्ण्यताम् ? तदत्र सर्वथास्माकमत्र कादम्बरीरसास्वाद एव परमं शरणम् । "कादम्बरीरसज्ञानामाहारोऽपि न रोचते" इति किल प्राचां प्रशंसनीयः प्रवादः ॥

अस्य च महाकवेः काव्यानि त्रीणि—चण्डीशतकम्, हर्षचरितम्, (पूर्व)कादम्बरी चेति । तत्र प्रथमं पद्यमयम् । तत्र हि महिषासुरमर्दनी चण्डिका शतेन पद्यानामुपश्लोक्यते ॥

तत्र च विषयानुसारेण रसानुरोधेन च आरभटी सात्त्वती च वृत्तिः, गौडीया पाञ्चाली च रीतिराद्रियमाणा दृश्यते । अस्माच्च शतकादुद्धृत्य बहूनि पद्यान्युदाहरद्भिः प्राग्भिरालंकारिकैरत्र महीयानादरः प्रदर्शितः । "पद्ये पटीयान् किल कालिदासो गद्ये पटीयान् किल भट्टबाणः । पद्ये च गद्ये च परं पटीयान् वत्सान्वयो वामनभट्टबाणः ॥" इति वामनबाणोक्तिस्तु दुरभिमानदुर्विलसितमिति विश्वसन्ति विपश्चितः, ये तावदेतच्चण्डीशतकं विमृशन्तो रोचयन्ते । "यादृग्गद्यविधौ बाणः" इति भोजराजोक्तिरपि न वामनबाणाभिप्रायमनुगृह्णातीति विशदं निरूपितमस्माभिः पार्वतीपरिणयनाटककर्तृत्वविमर्शग्रन्थे । आदित्यभक्तेन तत्प्रसादलम्भितारोग्येण सूर्यशतककर्त्रा मयूरमहाकविना स्वश्वशुरेण श्रीहर्षसभायां सर्वदा स्पर्धमानो देवीभक्तो बाणभट्टः, इदं शतकं प्रणिनायेति लोकवादः ।

"स चित्रवर्णविच्छित्तिशालिनोरवनीपतिः। श्रीहर्ष इव संघर्षं चक्रे बाणमयूरयोः ॥"
इति विलिखन् परिमलकालिदासोऽप्यमुमर्थं द्रढयतीव ॥

हर्षचरितं कादम्बरी च गद्यकाव्ये। कादम्बरी च "ज्ञास्यसि मरणेन प्रीतिमित्यसंभाव्यमेव" इत्येतदन्तैव भट्टबाणेन विरचिता, उत्तरा च कादम्बरी तत्सुतेन भूषणबाणेनेति सर्वसंप्रतिपन्नोऽयमंशः। अत्र च अश्लीलभाषितमापतितमिति, तत एव अपरिपूरयन्नेव लोकान्तरं गतोऽसौ महाभाग इति च वृद्धपरम्परा। मरणशय्यामधिशयानो भट्टबाणः, कादम्बरीपरिपूर्तिमात्मजाभ्यां कारयिष्यन्, तावाहूय कथाशेषमग्राहयत्। अथ तयोः सामर्थ्यं परीक्षितुमभिलष्यन्, पुरः स्थितं स्थाणुं तत्र स्थितं पन्नगं च प्रदर्श्य, एतं विषयमधिकृत्य वर्णयतम् इति तावब्रवीत्। वासनाशून्यः श्रोत्रियो ज्यायान् "शुष्को वृक्षस्तिष्ठत्यग्रे तिष्ठति सर्पः" इत्यतिप्रशिथिलं वाक्यं जग्रन्थ। कनीयांस्तु "नीरसतरुरिह निकटे तदुपरि निवसति कालभुजङ्गः" इति प्रबबन्ध। एतच्च श्रुत्वा मनोरथमात्मनः पूर्णमिव कलयन् बाणः, कनीयांसमाशीर्भिरभिनन्द्य प्राणान् विजहौ—इत्यस्ति किमप्यैतिह्यमद्यावधि सर्वतः प्रसृतम्। हर्षचरितमप्यपूर्णमेव, यतस्तत्र न निरूपितं हर्षवर्धनस्य उपरितनं व्यापि चरितमिति केचित्। परे त्वेवमाहुः—स्वस्य हर्षवर्धनदर्शनं यावदेव बाणभट्टेन हर्षवर्धनस्य चरितं वर्णयितुमभिलषितम्। तच्च निर्व्यूढमेव। अन्यथा कथमलसस्येव महाकवेरनायासनिर्वाह्ये एतत्समापने बुद्धिर्न प्रवर्तेत। कादम्बरी तु मरणेन महाकवेर्मध्ये विच्छिन्ना—इति ॥

महाशयाः! एतद्गद्यकाव्यविमर्शतः प्राक् कमपि पीठिकाबन्धमवश्यरचनीयं रचयामः। "ओजः समासभूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम्" इति काव्यादर्शः। "गद्यं वृत्तगन्धि चूर्णमुत्कलिकाप्रायं च। पद्यभागवत् वृत्तगन्धि। अनाविद्धललितपदं चूर्णम्। विपरीतमुत्कलिकाप्रायम्" इति वामनकाव्यालंकारसूत्राणि। "अनाविद्धानि अदीर्घसमासानि ललितानि अनुद्धतानि पदानि यस्मिन् तत् अनाविद्धललितपदं चूर्णमिति, विपरीतम् आविद्धोद्धतपदम् उत्कलिकाप्रायम्" इति सूत्रयोर्वृत्तिः। "अत्यर्थसुकुमारार्थसंदर्भा कैशिकी मता। अत्युद्धतार्थसंदर्भा वृत्तिरारभटी स्मृता ॥ ईषन्मृद्वर्थसंदर्भा भारती वृत्तिरिष्यते। ईषत्प्रौढार्थसंदर्भा सात्त्वती वृत्तिरिष्यते ॥" इति, "बन्धपारुष्यरहिता शब्दकाठिन्यवर्जिता। नातिदीर्घसमासा च वैदर्भी रीतिरिष्यते ॥ ओजः कान्तिगुणोपेता गौडीया रीतिरिष्यते। पाञ्चालरीतिर्वैदर्भीगौडीरीत्युभयात्मिका ॥" इति, "या

पदानां परान्योन्यमैत्री शय्येति कथ्यते" इति, "अर्थगम्भीरिमा पाकः" इति च विद्यानाथः । रसानां सौकुमार्यादिकम् , गुणानां लक्षणानि चान्यत एवावगन्तव्यानि । "श्लेषप्रायमुदीच्येषु प्रतीच्येष्वर्थमात्रकम् । उत्प्रेक्षा दाक्षिणात्येषु गौडेष्वक्षरडम्बरः ॥" इति, "उत्कृष्टकविगद्यमिव विविधवर्णश्रेणिप्रतिपाद्यमानाभिनवार्थसंचयम्" इति बाणभट्टश्च स्वयमेवाह । तदेवं व्यवस्थितं काव्याङ्गतत्त्वमनुभवेन स्वयमवधारयन् , अखिलदेशीयानप्यभिज्ञजनानारिराधयिषुर्महाकविरयं तत्र तत्र वर्णनीयवस्त्वनुगुणां तत्तद्रसभावानुरूपां च वृत्तिमाद्रियते, रीतिमूरीकुरुते, शय्यां योजयति, पाकमाकलयति । रसवशेन कदाचिदात्मानमपि विस्मरतोऽस्य क्वचित्क्वचिद्दृश्यमानो विपर्यासोऽपि गच्छतः स्खलनमिव न दोषाय कल्पते । "मृदुकाव्यमिव अनन्यचिन्तितस्वभावावेदकम्" इति च स्वयमेव वदति । एष च विपर्ययो मलिनोऽपि कामिनीकपोलयोः कज्जलबिन्दुरिव विच्छित्तिविशेषमेव पुष्यति । ये नाम केचित् , आरभटीसमुचितेषु प्रौढेषु प्रबन्धकेषु अवतरितुमपारयन्तः स्वयमुत्प्रेक्षितेन पङ्कसङ्गेन, कासरा इव निर्मलमपि कासारमात्मावगाहनेन पूर्णमेव प्रबन्धमाविलयितुमभिलषन्ति, न ते माननीयाः । शोचनीयास्ते न सहृदयसमाजमर्हन्ति । "न खलु स्थाणोरयमपराधः, यदन्ध एनं न पश्यति" इति किल भगवान् यास्कः । "कलकण्ठगणास्वाद्ये कामस्यास्त्रे निजाङ्कुरे । निम्बवृत्तिभिरुद्गीर्णे न चूतः परितप्यते ॥" इति श्रीवेङ्कटनाथः । द्वीपान्तरीयांश्चैताननुमोदमानाः, तेषां निर्णयाभासवचनं निगमसममभिमन्यमाना अस्मद्देशीया अप्यपरिपक्वबुद्धयः कतिपये, स्वयमप्यसंगीतकं नृत्यन्ति, अभिनयन्ति च बाला अपि विद्यावैशारद्ये वार्द्धकमित्यहो कालस्य कौटिल्यम् ; यत् अश्रुतचरं श्रावयति अदृष्टपूर्वं दर्शयति । तादृशाश्च क्रमशो ह्रसन्तीति परमिदमाश्वासस्थानमस्मादृशाम् । वस्तुतो विमृश्यमाने, द्वीपान्तरीयाणां देवभाषाशिक्षणप्रकार एवात्र, मन्यामहे, नूनमपराध्यति । ते हि दैवीं वाचमुपासितुं प्रयतमानाः प्रायेण पञ्चतन्त्रमेव पठितुं प्रक्रमन्ते । तस्मिन् किल तेषाम् आम्नाय इव भारतीयानामतिमहान् बहुमानः । ते खलु तत्रत्यं द्व्यक्षरं त्र्यक्षरम् , अन्ततः पञ्चाक्षरं वा पदजालं भारत्याः प्रसादमूलमालोचयन्ति । तन्निबद्धं च प्रशिथिलबन्धं वाक्यजातमवहितेन चेतसा मुहुरावर्तयन्ति । विपाककटुकं च तदीयं रसमास्वादयन्तः परां निर्वृतिमधिगच्छन्ति । अक्षरद्वयमपि वा संयोज्य बहिः स्फुटमुच्चारयितुं प्रायशो न प्रभवन्ति । ईदृशाश्चैते, ईदृशा परिचयेन ईदृक्षेण च संस्कारेण "करिकलभकरमृदिततमालकिसलयामोदिनीं नखमुखलग्नेभकुम्भमुक्तमुक्ता-

फलछुब्धैः शबरसेनापतिभिरभिहन्यमानकेसरिशतां प्रेताधिपनगरीमिव सदा संनिहितमृत्युभीषणां महिषाधिष्ठितां च" विन्ध्याटवीं कथं नाम निर्भीकाः प्रविशन्तु । कथं वा "दोलायितशृङ्गसङ्गिलोहशृङ्खलावलम्बमानघर्घररवघोरघण्टया घटितकेसरिसटारुचिरचामरया च काञ्चनत्रिशूलिकया लिखितनभस्तलम् इतस्ततः पथिकपुरुषोपहारमार्गमिवालोकयन्तं महान्तं रक्तध्वजम्", चण्डिकायतनद्वारदेशाभिमुखप्रतिष्ठापितम् अध्यासितासिताञ्जनशिलावेदिकं शोणितलवलोभलोलशिवालिह्यमानलोहितलोचनं लोहमहिषम्, "संपिण्डितनीलगुग्गुलुधूपधूमारुणीकृताभिश्च प्रचलन्तीभिर्गर्भगृहदीपिकालताभिः अङ्गुलीभिरिव महिषासुरशोणितलवलोहिनीभिः स्कन्धपीठकण्डूयनचालितत्रिशूलदण्डकृतापराधान् वनमहिषानिव तर्जयन्तीं चण्डिकां च निश्वासं निर्वर्णयन्तु । उद्वेगकरकतिपयशब्दपूरितकर्णविवराश्चैते, "चमरीपङ्क्तिरियमनुगम्यताम्, उच्छुष्कमृगकरीषपांसुला त्वरिततरमध्यास्यतामियं वनस्थली, तरुशिखरमारुह्यताम्, आलोक्यतां दिगियम्, आकर्ण्यतामयं शब्दः, गृह्यतां धनुः, अवहितैः स्थीयताम्, विमुच्यन्तां श्वान इत्यन्योन्यमभिवदतो मृगयासक्तस्य महतो जनसमूहस्य क्षोभितकाननं मृगयाकोलाहलं" कथं वा शृण्वन्तु । परिचयानुरूपा हि परिणतिर्भवति । "न हि शणसूत्रवानाभ्यासे त्रसरसूत्रवानवैचित्र्यलाभः" इति सत्यमाह काव्यालंकारसूत्रकारः ॥

एतदेवमालोच्यैव वयमपि, मध्यमानां बालानां च विद्यार्थिनामुपयोगाय, मध्यमं लघुं च कादम्बर्या हर्षचरितस्य च संग्रहमकार्ष्मेति, अस्माभिः प्रकाशितयोर्देवभाषाचतुर्थपञ्चमप्रपाठकयोः कादम्बरीहर्षचरितप्रकरणान्यनुगुणान्याकलितानीति च प्राप्तावसरमिदं निवेदयामः ॥

"गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति" इति प्राचामलंकारकृतां प्रवादः । अस्य च प्रवादस्य आशयविशेषो विशदं च विस्तृतं च वासवदत्ताभूमिकायामस्माभिर्निरूपितस्तत एव सुज्ञानः । वर्णनीयवस्तूनि स्वरूपतः स्वभावतो गुणतश्चाविकलं वर्ण्यमानानि यथा सचेतसां प्रत्यक्षायमाणानि भवेयुः, तथा विधेया सूक्ष्मेक्षिका कविना इति, तदनुगुणवृत्तिरीतिविशिष्टानि च वाक्यानि निबन्धनीयानि इति च तस्य पिण्डितार्थः । भट्टबाणसूक्तिश्चास्मिन्निकषोपले निघृष्यमाणा, षोडशवर्णं सुवर्णं भवतीत्यत्र न खलु सचेतनः कोऽपि विपश्चिद्विप्रतिपत्स्यते ॥

अयं किल महाकविः, शूद्रकस्य तारापीडस्य पुष्पभूतेः हर्षवर्धनस्य च दैनंदिनं चरितं वर्णयन्, प्राचां भारतीयनृपतीनामहोरात्रकृत्यमावेदयति । तेषां

राज्ये मनोरथेन प्रजाभावे अस्माकमुदेति महदेव कुतूहलम् । शुकनासमुखेन च मन्त्रिणो राज्ञि बहुमानं भक्तिम् , तारापीडद्वारा च मन्त्रिणि राज्ञो विस्रम्भं प्रेमाणं च प्रदर्शयति । हर्षवर्धनजननी यशोवती, तद्भगिनी राज्यश्रीः, विलासवती, मनोरमा, महाश्वेता, कादम्बरी च पातिव्रत्यैकधनानां पुण्यवतीनामस्मद्देश-कुलपत्नीनां मातृकायमाणा विलसन्ति । "देवि, किमत्र क्रियतां दैवायत्ते वस्तुनि । न वयमनुग्राह्याः प्रायो देवतानाम् । अन्यस्मिन् जन्मनि न कृतमवदातं कर्म । जन्मान्तरकृतं हि कर्म फलमुपनयति पुरुषस्येहजन्मनि । न हि शक्यं दैवमन्यथाकर्तुमभियुक्तेनापि" इत्यादिभिः प्रियशतमधुराभिः शोकापनोदनिपुणा-भिर्धर्मोपदेशगर्भाभिर्वाग्भिः तारापीडो न केवलमनपत्यतादुःखितां विलासवतीं परमन्यानपि दुःखाभिहतान् जनानाश्वासयति । सूतिकागृहवर्णननिरीक्षणेन च अविच्छिन्ननारायणनामसहस्रपठनादयः प्राचीनाः केचिदाचारा अपि विदिता भवन्ति । क्रीडाव्यासङ्गविघातार्थं बहिर्नगरादनुसिप्रं चन्द्रापीडस्य विद्यामन्दिरं कारयन् तारापीडः समुचितं कलाशालाकल्पनस्थलं निर्दिशतीव विद्यावताम् । आरूढविनयमपि चन्द्रापीडं विनीततरमिच्छन् शुकनासः, सुबहु विस्तृतमुप-दिशन् , वित्तमदमत्तचित्तानां दुरात्मनां दुश्चेष्टितानि "दर्शनप्रदानमपि अनुग्रहं गणयन्ति, आज्ञामपि वरप्रदानं मन्यन्ते, स्पर्शमपि पावनमाकलयन्ति, न मानयन्ति मान्यान् , कुप्यन्ति हितवादिने । सर्वथा तमभिनन्दन्ति, तमालपन्ति, तं पार्श्वे कुर्वन्ति, तेन सह सुखमवतिष्ठन्ते, तस्मै ददति, तस्य वचनं शृण्वन्ति, तत्र वर्षन्ति, योऽहर्निशमनवरतमुपरचिताञ्जलिरधिदैवतमिव विगतान्यकर्तव्यः स्तौति, यो वा माहात्म्यमुद्भावयति" इति संगृह्णन् , ताभिरमलाभिरुपदेश-वाग्भिश्चन्द्रापीडमिवास्मानपि प्रक्षालितानिव उन्मीलितानिव पवित्रीकृतानिव उद्भासितानिव सर्वात्मना करोति । दिग्विजययात्रायां चन्द्रापीडमनुगच्छतामस्मा-कम् "मणिदर्पण इव त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्म्याः, स्फटिकभूमिगृह इव वसुंधरादेव्याः, त्रिभुवनपुण्यराशाविव सरोरूपेणावस्थिते, असकृत्पितामहपरिपूरितकमण्डलुपरि-पूतजले, बहुशः सलिलावतीर्णसावित्रीभग्नदेवतार्चनकमलसहस्रे अच्छोदे नाम सरसि स्नातुमतिमहती समुत्कण्ठा संजायते । "इदं खलु सरः, अमृतमिव सर्वेन्द्रियाह्लादनसमर्थम्—अतिविमलतया चक्षुषः प्रीतिमुपजनयति, शिशिरतया स्पर्शसुखमुपहरति, कमलसुगन्धितया घ्राणमाप्याययति, हंसमुखरतया श्रुतिमानन्द-यति, स्वादुतया रसनामाह्लादयति" । शून्ये च सिद्धायतने भगवतस्त्र्यम्बकस्य दक्षिणां मूर्तिमाश्रित्याभिमुखमासीनाम् , श्वेतद्वीपलक्ष्मीमिव अन्यद्वीपावलोकन-

कुतूहलागताम् , धर्महृदयादिव निर्गताम् , सुमधुरया च गीत्या देवं विरूपाक्षमुपवीणयन्तीम् , प्रत्यक्षामिव गन्धर्वविद्याम् , निर्ममां निरहंकारां निर्मत्सरां प्रतिपन्नपाशुपतव्रतां महाश्वेतामवलोकयितुं कस्य वा मनः कुतूहलि न भवति । "विबुधसद्मनि अप्सरसो नाम कन्यकाः सन्ति । तासां चतुर्दश कुलानि—एकं कमलयोनेर्मनसः समुत्पन्नम् , अन्यद्वेदेभ्यः संभूतम् , अन्यदग्नेरुद्भूतम् , अन्यत् पवनात् प्रसूतम् , अन्यदमृतान्मथ्यमानादुत्थितम् , अन्यज्जलाज्जातम् , अन्यदर्ककिरणेभ्यो निर्गतम् , अन्यत् सोमरश्मिभ्यो निष्पतितम् , अन्यत् सौदामनीभ्यः प्रवृत्तम् , अन्यन्मृत्युना निर्मितम् , अपरं मकरकेतुना समुत्पादितम्" इत्यत्र पर्यायपदानि स्वैरमनायासं विसृजन्नात्मनः शब्दप्रपञ्चसर्गपाटवं प्रकटयति महाकविः । "क्रमेण च कृतं मे वपुषि वसन्त इव मधुमासेन, मधुमास इव नवपल्लवेन, नवपल्लव इव कुसुमेन, कुसुम इव मधुकरेण, मधुकर इव मदेन, नवयौवनेन पदम्" इति महाश्वेतायौवनावतारम् , "अथ मुहूर्तादिव तं तस्य रूपस्येव यौवनम् , यौवनस्येव मकरकेतनम् मकरकेतनस्येव वसन्तसमयम् , वसन्तसमयस्येव दक्षिणानिलम् अनुरूपं सखायं मुनिकुमारकं कपिञ्जलनामानमपश्यम्" इति पुण्डरीकसुहृदं कपिञ्जलं च वर्णयता महाकविना निबद्धामुपमां चिन्तयतां सचेतसां यत्सत्यमन्तरात्मा मुह्यतीव सुखसंभेदेन । "सखे पुण्डरीक, नैतदनुरूपं भवतः । क्षुद्रजनक्षुण्ण एष मार्गः । धैर्यधना हि साधवः । किं यः कश्चित् प्राकृत इव विक्लवीभवन्तमात्मानं न रुणत्सि । कुतस्तवापूर्वोऽयमद्येन्द्रियोपप्लवः, येनास्येवं विकृतः । क्व ते तद्धैर्यम् , क्वासाविन्द्रियजयः, क्व तद्वशित्वं चेतसः, क्व सा प्रशान्तिः, क्व कुलक्रमागतं ब्रह्मचर्यम् , क्व सा सर्वविषयनिरुत्सुकता, क्व ते गुरूपदेशाः, क्व तानि श्रुतानि, क्व ता वैराग्यबुद्धयः, क्वासौ तपस्यभिनिवेशः, क्व तत् यौवनानुशासनम् । सर्वथा निष्फला प्रज्ञा, निर्गुणो धर्मशास्त्राभ्यासः, निरर्थकः संस्कारः, निरुपकारको गुरूपदेशविवेकः, निष्प्रयोजना प्रबुद्धता, निष्कारणं ज्ञानम् । यदत्र भवादृशा अपि रागाभिषङ्गैः कलुषीक्रियन्ते, प्रमादैश्चाभिभूयन्ते" इति मदनपरवशं पुण्डरीकमुपदिशन् , तमेव पुनरपि "सखे पुण्डरीक, सुविदितमेतन्मम । केवलमिदमेव पृच्छामि—यदेतदारब्धं भवता, किमिदं गुरुभिरुपदिष्टम् , उत धर्मशास्त्रेषु पठितम् , उत धर्मार्जनोपायोऽयम् , उतापरस्तपसां प्रकारः, उत स्वर्गगमनमार्गोऽयम् , उत व्रतरहस्यमिदम् , उत मोक्षप्राप्तियुक्तिरियम् , आहोस्विदन्यो नियमप्रकारः । कथमेतद्युक्तं भवतो मनसापि चिन्तयितुं किंपुनराख्यातु-

मीक्षितुं वा । मूढो हि मदनेनायास्यते । स खलु धर्मबुद्ध्या विषलतावनं सिञ्चति, कुवलयमालेति निस्त्रिंशलतामालिङ्गति, कृष्णागरुधूमलेखेति कृष्णसर्पमवगूहते, रत्नमिति ज्वलन्तमङ्गारमभिस्पृशति, मूढो विषयोपभोगेष्वनिष्टानुबन्धिषु यः सुखबुद्धिमारोपयति । कोऽयमनङ्गो नाम, धैर्यमवलम्ब्य निर्भर्त्स्यतामयं दुराचारः" इति प्रकटितप्रणयकोपमधिक्षिपन् , विगतजीविते च पुण्डरीके, "हा हतोऽस्मि, हा दग्धोऽस्मि, हा वञ्चितोऽस्मि । हा हा किमिदमापतितम् । उत्सन्नोऽस्मि । दुरात्मन् , मदनपिशाच, पाप, किमिदमकृत्यमनुष्ठितम् । हा भगवन् , श्वेतकेतो, पुत्रवत्सल, न वेत्सि मुषितमात्मानम् । हा धर्म, निष्परिग्रहोऽसि; हा तपः, निराश्रयमसि; हा सरस्वति, विधवासि; हा सत्य, अनाथमसि; हा सुरलोक, शून्योऽसि । सखे प्रतिपालय माम् । अहमपि भवन्तमनुयास्यामि । कथय, त्वदृते क्व गच्छामि, कं याचे, कं शरणमुपैमि, अन्धोऽस्मि संवृत्तः, शून्या मे दिशो जाताः, निरर्थकं जीवितम् , अप्रयोजनं तपः, निःसुखाश्च लोकाः । केन सह परिभ्रमामि, कमालपामि, उत्तिष्ठ, देहि मे प्रतिवचनम्" इत्येतानि चान्यानि च विलपन् कपिञ्जलः किमपि विशुद्धं सुहृत्प्रेमरहस्यमवबोधयति ॥

"नास्ति खल्वसाध्यं नाम भगवतो मनोभुवः । न हि किंचिदस्य दुर्घटं दुष्करमनायत्तमकर्तव्यं वा जगति । दुरुपपादेष्वप्यर्थेष्वयमवज्ञया विचरति । का वा गणना सचेतनेषु । अपगतचेतनान्यपि संघटयितुमलम् । यद्यस्मै रोचते, कुमुदिन्यपि दिवसकरकरानुरागिणी भवति, कमलिन्यपि शशिकरद्वेषमुज्झति, निशापि वासरेण सह मिश्रतामेति, ज्योत्स्नाप्यन्धकारमनुवर्तते, छायापि प्रदीपाभिमुखमवतिष्ठते, तडिदपि जलदे स्थिरतां व्रजति, जरापि यौवनेन सहचारिणी भवति" इति, "अतनुरेष हुताशनः । अप्रकाशयन् ज्वालावलीः संतापं जनयति, अप्रकटयन् धूमपटलमश्रु पातयति, अदर्शयन् भस्मरजोनिकरं पाण्डुतामाविर्भावयति । न च तद्भूतं भवति भविष्यति वा, यदस्य शरशरव्यतां न यातं याति यास्यति वा" इति, "सर्वथा दुर्लभं जगति यौवनमस्खलितम्" इति च सुदृढमुच्चैरुद्घुष्यन् महाशयोऽयम् , कुसुमचापचापलेभ्यो निवारयति, जागरयति च दुर्ललितं युवलोकम् ॥

"हा हा किमिदमुपनतम् । हा अम्ब, हा सख्यः, हा नाथ, जीवितनिबन्धन, क्व मामेकाकिनीमशरणाम् अकरुण विमुच्य यासि । प्रसीद, सकृदप्यालप, दर्शय भक्तवत्सलताम् । ईषदपि विलोकय । पूरय मे मनोरथम् ।

आर्तास्मि भक्तास्मि अनुरक्तास्ति अनाथास्मि बालास्मि अगतिकास्मि दुःखितास्मि अनन्यशरणास्मि मदनपरिभूतास्मि । किमिति न करोषि दयाम् । कथय — किमपराद्धम् , किं वा नानुष्ठितम् , कस्यां वा नाज्ञायामादृतम् , कस्मिन् वा त्वदनुकूले नाभिरतम् । किं वा मया वामया पापया, याहमद्यापि प्राणिमि । कथं न त्वं जातो न विनयो न बन्धुवर्गो न परलोकः । किं मे गृहेण किमम्बया किं तातेन किं बन्धुभिः किं परिजनेन । हा कमुपयामि शरणम् । अयि दैव दर्शय दयाम् । देहि दयितदक्षिणाम् । भगवति भवितव्यते, कुरु कृपाम् । पाहि वनितामनाथाम् । भगवत्यो वनदेवताः, प्रसीदत । प्रयच्छतास्य प्राणान् । अव वसुंधरे । सकललोकानुग्रहजननि रजनि, किमर्थं नानुकम्पसे । तात कैलास, शरणागतास्मि, दर्शय दयालुताम्'' इत्येतानि च अन्यानि च व्याक्रोशन्तीं महाश्वेतामाश्वासयितुम् , तिष्ठतु तावद्दूरे चन्द्रमाः, वयं पुनर्विमुक्तविषयासङ्गमपि जाबालिमेव महामुनिमर्थयामः ; यः किल प्रवाहः करुणारसस्य, दिवसकरो मोहान्धकारस्य, प्रासादः प्रसादस्य, कोशस्तपसः ॥

''अम्ब, त्वमपि मां मन्दपुण्यं त्यजसि, प्रसीद, निवर्तस्व'' इत्यभिधाय पादयोर्निपतन्तम् , स्रुतमिव सत्त्वेन, द्रुतमिव दुःखेन, आचान्तमिव चिन्तया, तुलितमिव तापेन, अङ्गीकृतमिव आतङ्केन'', प्रियपुत्रं हर्षवर्धनम् , ''कुलकलत्रमस्मि चारित्रधना धर्मधवले कुले जाता । वीरजा वीरजाया वीरजननी च मादृशी पराक्रमक्रीता कथमन्यथा कुर्यात् । भर्तुमविधवैव वाञ्छामि । मरणाच्च मे जीवितमेवास्मिन् समये साहसम् '' इति सान्त्वयित्वा, जानकीमिव जातवेदसं पत्युः पुरः प्रविष्टां महाभागां यशोवतीमनुशोचन्नधिगतनिर्वेद इव महाशयो बाणः, महाश्वेताव्यतिकरे ''यदेतदनुमरणं नाम, तदतिनिष्फलम् । अविद्वज्जनाचरित एष मार्गः, मोहविलसितमेतत् , अज्ञानपद्धतिरियम् , रभसाचरितमिदम् , क्षुद्रदृष्टिरेषा, अतिप्रमादोऽयम् , मौर्ख्यस्खलितमिदम् , यदुपरते पितरि भ्रातरि सुहृदि भर्तरि वा प्राणाः परित्यज्यन्ते । स्वयं चेन्न जहति, न परित्याज्याः । प्रोन्मुच्येतापि जीवितम् , संदिग्धोऽप्यस्य समागमो यदि स्यात् । अन्यामेव स्वकर्मफलपरिपाकोपनीतामसाववशो नीयते कर्मभूमिम् । असावप्यात्मघातिनः केवलमेनसा संयुज्यते । जीवंस्तु जलाञ्जलिदानादिना बहूपकरोत्युपरतस्यात्मनश्च । मृतस्तु नोभयस्यापि'' इत्येवंप्रायैः सोपपादनैः सनिदर्शनैः सकरुणैश्च वचनैर्बलीयांसमनुमरणविषये स्वस्य विद्वेषं महता संरम्भेण विशदयति ॥

"राजपुत्र, रमणीयो हेमकूटः। चित्रा च चित्ररथराजधानी, बहुकुतूहलः किंपुरुषविषयः, पेशलो गन्धर्वलोकः, सरलहृदया महानुभावा च कादम्बरी। यदि नातिखेदकरमिव गमनं कलयसि, नावसीदति वा गुरु प्रयोजनम्, अदृष्टचरविषयकुतूहलि वा चेतः, अस्मद्वचनमनुरुध्यते वा भवान्, अप्रत्याख्यानयोग्यं वा जनमिमं मन्यसे, ततो नार्हसि निष्फलां कर्तुमभ्यर्थनामिमाम्। इतो मयैव सह गत्वा हेमकूटम्, दृष्ट्वा च मन्निर्विशेषां कादम्बरीम्, एकमहो विश्रम्य श्वोभूते प्रत्यागमिष्यसि" इति मधुरालापेन मानसमावर्जयन्तीं हेमकूटं प्रस्थितां महाश्वेतां सह चन्द्रापीडेन कुतूहलाक्रान्ता वयमप्यनुयास्यामः ॥

"मदलेखे, किमुच्यते। निपुणासि। उत्तरावकाशमपहरन्त्या कृतं वचसि कौशलम्" इति चन्द्रापीडेन प्रशस्यमानं मदलेखावचःकौशलं ये नाम जिज्ञासन्ते, तर्हि ते कादम्बरीमेव उपसर्पन्तु; तत्र गतानां च तेषां कालिन्द्याः शारिकायाः परिहासस्य शुकस्य च प्रणयकोपोऽप्यास्वादनीयो भवतीत्यपरोऽपि लाभः संपत्स्यते ॥

ततश्च चण्डिकायतने "विस्फोटव्रणबिन्दुभिः कल्माषितशरीरम्, जरां गतमपि दक्षिणापथाधिराज्यप्रार्थनाकदर्थितदुर्गम्, पट्टिकालिखितदुर्गास्तोत्रम्, जीर्णमहापाशुपतोपदेशलिखितमहाकालमतम्, दुर्गृहीतालाबुवीणावादनोद्वेजितपथिकपरिहृतम्, दिवसमेव मशककणितानुकारि किमपि कम्पितोत्तमाङ्गं गायन्तम्, स्वदेशभाषानिबद्धभागीरथीभक्तिस्तोत्रनर्तकम्, निःसंस्कारतया यत्किंचनकारिणम्, खञ्जतया मन्दं संचारिणम्, बधिरतया संज्ञाव्यवहारिणम्, रात्र्यन्धतया दिवा विहारिणम्, लम्बोदरतया प्रभूताहारिणम्, अनेकशः फलपातनकुपितवानरनखोल्लेखच्छिद्रितनासापुटम्, कदाचिन्निवार्यमाणावासरुषिताध्वगारब्धबहुबाहुयुद्धपातभग्नपृष्ठकं जरद्द्रविडधार्मिकमवलोकयितुं क्रीडितुं च तेन बालका इव पामरा इव वयमप्युत्कण्ठिताः स्मः; येन च दृष्टेन "अद्य परिसमाप्तम् ईक्षणयुगलस्य द्रष्टव्यदर्शनफलम्, आलोकितः खलु रमणीयानामन्तः, दृष्ट आह्लादयीनामवधिः, वीक्षिता मनोहराणां सीमान्तलेखा, प्रत्यक्षीकृता प्रीतिजननानां परिसमाप्तिः, विलोकिता दर्शनीयानामवसानभूमिः" इति सान्तर्हासमात्मानं विनोदयिष्यामः ॥

अन्ततश्च, कादम्बर्याः सानुरोधं च सोपालम्भं च सनिर्वेदं च साभिमानं च साभ्यर्थनं च "अतिप्रियोऽसि इति पौनरुक्त्यम्" इत्यादिकं वचनं चिन्त्यमानमपि महान्तमुपजनयति विषादमिति न वयं तत्स्मर्तुमपि प्रभवामः ॥

सहृदयाः, इतः परं हर्षचरितेऽपि ईषदिव दृष्टिं पातयामः । तत्र च प्रथममस्माकं बुद्धिमारोहति प्रीतिकूटनामा बाणाभिजनो ब्राह्मणाधिवासः ; यत्र निवासिनः स्वज्ञातयः, राजकुलात् प्रतिनिवृत्तेन बाणभट्टेन "कच्चिदेतावतो दिवसान् सुखिनो यूयम् । अप्रत्यूहा वा सम्यक्करणपरितोषितद्विजचक्रा क्रातवी क्रियते क्रिया । यथावदविकलमन्त्रभाञ्जि भुञ्जते वा हवींषि हुतभुजः । यथा-कालमधीयते वा वटवः । प्रतिदिनमविच्छिन्नो वा वेदाभ्यासः । कच्चित् स एव चिरन्तनो यज्ञविद्याकर्मण्यभियोगः । तान्येव वा व्याकरणे परस्परस्पर्धानुबन्धावन्ध्य-दिवसदर्शितादराणि व्याख्यानमण्डलानि । सैव वा पुरातनी परित्यक्तान्यकर्तव्या प्रमाणगोष्ठी । स एव वा मन्दीकृतेतरशास्त्ररसो मीमांसायामतिरसः । कच्चित्त एव वाभिनवसुभाषितसुधावर्षिणः काव्यालापाः" इति प्रीयमाणेन मनसा परिपृच्छयन्ते । किमस्ति तादृशः सांप्रतमेकोऽपि ग्रामो भारते वर्षे भविष्यति वा, यः प्रीतिकूटस्य लेशेनाप्यनुकरिष्यति ॥

"असंस्कृतमतयोऽपि जात्यैव द्विजन्मानो माननीयाः" इति सरस्वत्या वचनेन, "दुर्विनीत, अस्ति ते दुर्विनयनिर्वाहबीजमिदं यज्ञोपवीतम्, यतो विस्रब्धमेवाचरसि चापलानि" इति उपसंहृतशस्त्रव्यापारस्य पुष्पभूते-र्वचसा च, पुरा जातिमात्रशरणानां ब्राह्मणब्रुवाणामप्यासीदादर इत्यवगम्यते ॥

धवलगृहे महता दाहज्वरेण 'अनवरतपरिवर्तनैस्तरङ्गिणि शयनीये विचेष्टमानम्, गोचरीकृतं ग्लान्या, दष्टं दुःखासिकया, क्रोडीकृतं कालेन, पीतमिव पीडाभिः, निगीर्णमिव वैवर्ण्येन, आदित्सितं दैवेन, घ्रातमनित्यत्वेन, अभिभूयमानमभावेन, दत्तावकाशं क्लेशस्य, निवासं वैमनस्यस्य, समीपे कालस्य, अन्तिके अन्त्योच्छ्वासस्य, द्वारि दीर्घनिद्रायाः, जिह्वाग्रे जीवितेशस्य वर्तमानम्, विरलं वाचि, चलितं चेतसि, विह्वलं वपुषि, क्षीणमायुषि, प्रचुरं प्रलापे, जितं जृम्भिकाभिः, अनुबद्धमनुबन्धिकाभिः, पार्श्वोपविष्टया अनवरत-रोदनोच्छूननयनया, मुहुर्मुहुः "आर्यपुत्र स्वपिषि" इति व्याहरन्त्या देव्या यशोवत्या शिरसि वक्षसि च स्पृश्यमानम्" प्रभाकरवर्धनं भावनया पश्यतः, काव्येन शृण्वतः, मनसा चिन्तयतो वा सचेतसः शोकाकुलं करुणाप्लुतं च हृदयं नियतमेव द्रुतं भवति ॥

प्रत्यग्रपितृमरणशोकविह्वलं च, "श्रियं शाप इति, महीं महापातक-मिति, राज्यं रोग इति, भोगान् भुजङ्गा इति, निलयं निरय इति, बन्धुं

बन्धनमिति, जीवितमयश इति, देहं द्रोह इति, कल्यतां कलङ्क इति, आयुरपुण्यफलमिति, आहारं विषमिति, विषममृतमिति, चन्दनं दहन इति, कामं क्रकच इति, हृदयस्फोटनमभ्युदय इति मन्यमानम्" हर्षवर्धनं प्रकृतौ पर्यवस्थापयितुम्, अबहुभाषी मन्दहासी सर्वोपकारी कुमारब्रह्मचारी अतितपस्वी महामनस्वी विद्याधरतामुपगतो भैरवाचार्योऽपि, विश्वसिमः, न पारयिष्यति । कापिलैर्जैनैर्लोकायतिकैः काणादैरौपनिषदैर्धर्मशास्त्रिभिः पौराणिकैः साप्ततन्तवैः शाब्दैः पाञ्चरात्रिकैरन्यैश्च परिवृतः, जातसौगतशीलशीतलस्वभावैः शार्दूलैरप्यमांसाशिभिरुपास्यमानः, युवैव काषायाणि गृहीतवान् दिवाकरमित्रो भदन्तः शक्ष्यति वा न वेति परीक्षितुं नास्माकं मानसमुत्सहते ॥

मालवराजकुलप्रलयाय प्रस्थितो राज्यवर्धनः, स्वयमप्यनुजिगमिषुम् "कमिव दोषं पश्यत्यार्यो ममानुगमनेन । यदि बाल इति, नितरां तर्हि न त्याज्योऽस्मि । रक्षणीय इति भवद्भुजपञ्जरं रक्षास्थानम्, अशक्त इति क्व परीक्षितोऽस्मि, संवर्धनीय इति वियोगस्तनूकरोति, अक्लेशसह इति स्त्रीपक्षे निक्षिप्तोऽस्मि, सुखमनुभवत्विति त्वयैव सह तत्प्रयाति, महानध्वनः क्लेश इति विरहोऽविषह्यतरः, प्रलघुपरिकरः प्रयामीति पादरजसि कोऽतिभारः, द्वयोर्गमनमसाम्प्रतमिति मामनुगृहाण गमनाज्ञया, कातरो भ्रातृस्नेह इति सदृशो दोषः । प्रसीदत्वार्यो नयतु मामपि" इत्यभिधाय पादयोः पतन्तं हर्षवर्धनमुपेक्ष्य अपरिचित इव अस्निग्ध इव गत इति तस्य वयमुत्पश्यामो वज्रसारमयं हृदयम् ॥

"विभुरनभिमानः, द्विजातिरनेषणः, मुनिररोषणः, कपिरचपलः, कविरमत्सरः, वणिगतस्करः, साधुरदरिद्रः, द्रविणवानखलः, सेवकः सुखी, परिव्राट् अबुभुक्षुः, अमात्यः सत्यवादी, राजसूनुरदुर्विनीतश्च जगति दुर्लभः" इति वदतो हर्षवर्धनस्य लोकरहस्यज्ञतां वयमतितरामभिनन्दामः ॥

"देवी तु यशोवती विवाहोत्सवपर्याकुलहृदया, हृदयेन भर्तरि, कुतूहलेन जामातरि, स्नेहेन दुहितरि, उपचारेण निमन्त्रितस्त्रीषु, आदेशेन परिजने, शरीरेण संचरणे, चक्षुषा कृताकृतप्रत्यवेक्षणेषु, आनन्देन महोत्सवे, एकापि विभक्तेवाभवत्" इति यशोवतीं वर्णयन्, कुलाङ्गनानां कुटुम्बभरणमेव परमो धर्म इत्यनुशास्ति कुलपालिकाजनं महाकविः ॥

प्रकृत्या अतिरोषणम् आत्मदोषमविज्ञाय, भगवतीं सरस्वतीं शप्तवन्तं दुर्वाससम् "ब्रह्मन्, न खलु साधुसेवितोऽयं पन्थाः, येनासि प्रवृत्तः । निहन्त्येष

परस्तात् । कियद्दूरं चक्षुरीक्षते । विशुद्धया हि धिया पश्यन्ति कृतबुद्धयः सर्वानर्थानसतः सतो वा । निसर्गविरोधिनी चेयं पयःपावकयोरिव धर्मक्रोधयोरेकत्र वृत्तिः । आलोकमपहाय कथं तमसि निमज्जसि । क्षमा हि मूलं सर्वतपसाम् । अतिरोषणश्चक्षुष्मानप्यन्ध एव जनः । न हि कोपकलुषिता विमृशति मतिः कर्तव्यमकर्तव्यं वा । कुपितस्य प्रथममन्धकारीभवति विद्या, ततो भ्रुकुटिः । आदौ इन्द्रियाणि रागः समास्कन्दति, चरमं चक्षुः । आरम्भे तपो गलति, पश्चात् स्वेदसलिलम् । पूर्वम् अयशः स्फुरति, अनन्तरम् अधरः'' इति साधिक्षेपं शिक्षयतो भगवतः पितामहस्य उपदेशामृतमास्वादयन्तो वयमेकं क्षणं वापि क्रोधदूरा इव कथं न भविष्यामः ; अथवा न बुभूषामः ॥

"अजम् अजरम् अमरगुरुम् असुरपुररिपुम् अचलदुहितृपतिम् अपरिमितगणपतिम् अखिलभुवनकृतचरणनतिं पशुपतिं प्रपन्नः, अन्यदेवताशून्यममन्यत त्रैलोक्यम्'' इति पुष्पभूतिवर्णनव्याजेन नूनमात्मानमेव निर्दिशति महाकविरिति विभावयामः । अत्र च क्रमेण परिवर्धितैरक्षरैः पदघटनम्, निपुणस्य गायनस्य पल्लवविकासने क्रमशः स्वरवर्धनमिव, उत्तरङ्गयति रसिकानामानन्दमन्तरङ्गे ॥

श्वेतकेतोस्त्रिभुवनसुन्दरं रूपमास्वादयन्त्या विकचपुण्डरीकोपविष्टाया देव्या लक्ष्म्याः, रूपसंपन्ने दधीचे बद्धभावाया देव्याः सरस्वत्याश्च शीलभ्रंशो निबध्यमानः, आस्तां नाम याथार्थ्यम्, संकोचयतीव चेतः सचेतसाम् ॥

विलासवतीं कादम्बरीं च सर्वमङ्गलमहीयसि महाभारते वाच्यमाने दत्तावधानामुल्लिखन् भट्टबाणः, आत्मनः पञ्चमे वेदे महान्तं बहुमानमाविष्करोति । कादम्बर्यामगस्त्याश्रमवर्णनावसरे दाशरथेः कथामासूत्रयन्, श्रीमति रामायणेऽप्यादरातिशयमभिदर्शयति ॥

राज्यश्रीपरिणयप्रकरणलिखितेन "अत्रान्तरे निर्वदनविकारं रुरोद वधूः । उदश्रुलोचनानां च बान्धववधूनामुदपादि महानाक्रन्दः'' इति वाक्येन, विवाहकाले कन्यायास्तद्बन्धूनां च साम्प्रतमप्यनुभूयमानं किंचिदिव रुदितकम्, चिरादनुवर्तमानः समुदाचार इति जानीमः ॥

"स्थित्वा च श्वशुरकुले आनन्दमयानि दश दिनानि'' इति हर्षचरिते भट्टबाणः । "एवं च चन्द्रापीडस्तत्र दशरात्रं स्थित्वा'' इत्युत्तरकादम्बर्यवसाने

भूषणबाणः । एतौ च पितापुत्रौ "श्वशुरगृहनिवासः स्वर्गतुल्यो नराणाम्" इत्याभाणकवञ्चितान्, श्वशुरगृहे चिराय वासं वाञ्छतो नव्यजामातॄन् किमपि श्वशुरकुलरहस्यमुपदिशत इव ॥

अस्य च प्रबन्धेषु प्रायेण सर्वेऽप्यलंकाराः साधु संयोजिता एव । अथापि, भूयसा, निरुपमा उपमा, प्रमोदप्रापकं रूपकम्, ऊर्जितेक्षा उत्प्रेक्षा, बहुशाख उल्लेखः, प्राप्तकान्तिर्भ्रान्तिः, सरसपोषः श्लेषः, अनवरोधो विरोधः, सुखनिक्षेप आक्षेपः, अदोषसक्तिरतिशयोक्तिः, अविगीतिर्जातिः, अतिभावुकं भाविकं चेत्येत एव दृश्यन्ते ; येषां धारणेन सुदृशः शोभमानाः परैः परिहरणीया न भवन्ति ॥

अतिदुर्लभाः किल ते कवयः शास्त्रकारा वा, येषां जीवतामेव विपुला विख्यातिर्विश्वतोमुखी भवति । "सर्वप्रबन्धानुगतस्तु मन्ये कर्तुः कवेर्जीवनमेव दोषः" इत्यनुभवरसिकः श्रीनीलकण्ठः । धन्यजन्मा भट्टबाणस्तु जीवन्नेव परां प्रख्यातिमुपगत इत्यवगम्यते । यतः कादम्बर्यां राजकुलवर्णनावसरे "बलभद्रमिव कादम्बरीरसविशेषवर्णनाकुलम्" इति विलिखति महाकविः । अत्र च कादम्बरी कादम्बरीग्रन्थ एवेति सुस्पष्टं सुमेधसाम् ॥

दीपशिखाकालिदासः, छत्त्रभारविः, घण्टामाघः, तालरत्नाकरः, कर्णिकारमङ्खः" इतिवत् अयमपि महाकविः "तुरङ्गबाणः" इति व्यपदिश्यते ।

"पश्चादङ्घ्री प्रसार्य त्रिकनतिविततं द्राघयित्वाङ्गमुच्चै-
रासज्याभुग्नकण्ठो मुखमुरसि सटा धूलिधूम्रा विधूय ।
घासग्रासाभिलाषादनवरतचलत्प्रोथतु(ण्ड)दस्तुरङ्गो
मन्दं शब्दायमानो विलिखति शयनादुत्थितः क्ष्मां खुरेण ॥"

"कुर्वन्नाभुग्नपृष्ठो मुखनिकटकटिः कन्धरामातिरश्चीं
लोलेनाहन्यमानं तुहिनकणमुचा चञ्चता केसरेण ।
निद्राकण्डूकषायं कषति निबिडितश्रोत्रशुक्तिस्तुरङ्ग-
स्त्वङ्गत्पक्ष्माग्रलग्नप्रतनुबुसकणं कोणमक्ष्णः खुरेण ॥"

इति हर्षचरितगताभ्यां स्वभावोक्तिरमणीयाभ्यां पद्याभ्यां चमत्कृतान्तःकरणैः सहृदयैरिदं बिरुदं प्रकाशितमिति कर्णाकर्णिका प्रवहति ॥

श्रीवादीभसिंहप्रभृतयः पश्चषा अर्वाचीनाः, बाणभट्टमनुविधातुं प्रयतमानाः, गद्यचिन्तामणिप्रमुखाणि गद्यकाव्यानि निर्ममिरे । प्रायेण तेषां मनोरथो न संपूर्णः संवृत्तः । वेमभूपालचरितकर्ता वामनभट्टबाणस्तु, शब्दसौष्ठवेन अर्थगौरवेण कल्पनाशिल्पेन च प्राचो भट्टबाणस्य कथंचित् संनिकर्षमर्हतीति सुवेदमेतद्विवेचनशीलानाम् ॥

इदं चान्ततः साञ्जलिबन्धं साभ्यर्थनं च निवेद्यते—यद्यस्ति कस्यचिद्देवभाषायां प्रणयः, यदि मधुरपदरचने मनीषा, यदि च विकटतराक्षरप्रचुरसाटोपवाक्यघटने वाञ्छा, यदि वा निरर्गलनिर्गलद्रसविसरभासुरमुपन्यासं सभायामवतारयितुमभिलाषः, तर्हि सोऽयं विरसशिथिलेषु विहाय प्राचामाधुनिकानां च वाक्येषु परिचयं विस्रम्भं च, परिशीलयतु हर्षचरितं कादम्बरीं च, मुखस्थीकरोतु च कतिचन प्रकरणान्येतयोः ; तदा नियतमेनमनुग्रहीष्यति सुप्रसन्ना देवी भगवती भारती, येनायं सकलकल्याणभाजनं भविष्यति, परां कोटिमानन्दस्य चाधिगमिष्यति ॥

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS.

KAVYAJIVITAVRTTI (MALAYALAM) 2 VOLUMES---BY SIROMANI P. KRISHNAN NAYAR, JUNIOR LECTURER IN MALAYALAM, Oriental Research Institute. Published by the University of Madras. Pp. 890. Price Rs. 10.

Though the Malayāḷam literature, of late, has been making rapid progress in various branches, books on Literary criticism have been very few. The late Raja Raja Varma Koil Thampuran made a valuable contribution to this branch with his excellent book Bhāṣā-bhūṣaṇam. But few, that came after, carried on the survey indicated by him therein. In the two volumes under notice, Siromaṇi P. Krishnan Nayar has taken up that task and given a comprehensive treatise on the principles of literary criticism in Malayāḷam.

The introduction which adorns the first volume is an original and scholarly contribution extending to about 240 pages. It deals with the exposition of the established canons of literary criticism culled from eminent works in the various languages, such as, Sanskrit, Malayāḷam, English, Tamil̲, Kannaḍa and Telugu. The author notices the differences of opinion here and there about the important elements of literature among the ancient and the modern orientalists. The Eastern and the Western methods of approach to this subject and their differences are elaborately given in the Prastāvanā.

Besides, in the first volume, the author devotes two chapters on the Śaiśavāvasthā (childhood) and the Bālyāvasthā (boyhood) of literature. The former deals with the definition of literature in general and its classifications. The definition of a word and a sentence, their respective divisions and their functions are considered. The latter is devoted to a treatment of the figures of speech such as Anuprāsa, Yamaka, etc. based on sounds (śabdālaṅkāras). The second Volume is styled the Kaumārāvasthā (youth) prakaraṇa. It deals with the explanation and illustration of the various figures of speech based on sense, (Arthālaṅkāras).

While tracing the development of literary criticism in Malayāḷam, the author refers to all books on this subject from Līlātilakam (14th century) to Sāhitya Bhūṣaṇam, a recent publication on this topic. He has not failed to examine how far all these books conform to the accepted principles and ideals of literature.

The work is the result of deep study and reveals a masterly handling of the subject. It contains the author's independent judgment in many places, which distinguishes the work from many others. The language used in these volumes is of course learned and technical, and though the ordinary average reader may not fully appreciate its worth, its usefulness and value to a scholar cannot be exaggerated.

T. S. BALASUBRAHMANYAN.

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